

THE
P L O T T
AND
PROGRESSE OF THE
IRISH
REBELLION.
WHEREIN

Is discovered the Machavilian
Policie of the Earle of Straford, Sir George
Ratcliffe and others.

Shewing what Countenance that Rebellion
hath had against the Protestants of *England*, (which doth
now too manifestly appeare) by his Majesties grant-
ing a free and generall Pardon to the
Rebells in *Ireland*.

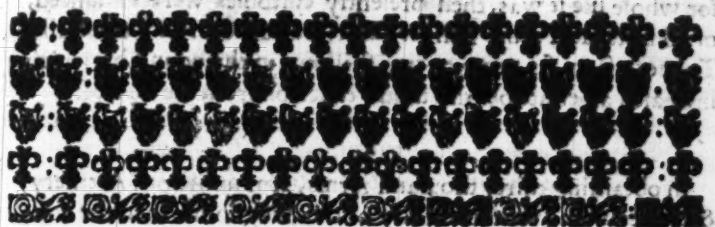
And Authorizing the Calling of a New Parliament in *Ireland*,
according to the Rebells desires.
of late Condisceded unto at *Oxford*.

Printed and Publi shed according to Order.

may 30.th LONDON,
Printed by I.N. for Henry Twyford at the three
Daggers in Fleet-street, 1644.



17136



THE PLOTT And Progresse of the Irish REBELLION.

Tooke into all Machavillian Policies that first pretend unto a seeming good; as may appear in the Government of *Ireland*, under the Lord Lieutenant *Straford*, in his first coming to regulate the sword, with an austere hand of Justice over all, seeming to befriend, and ease the Subjects from a tedious course of Law, and Monopolized the major part of *Causess*, and reduced them to an Arbitrary Government.

The advantage raised unto his Majesty by affording a greater Revenue for the customs of *Ireland*, then formerly was given, and so a grant of farming the customs was afforded, (twas said to Sir *George Radcliffe*) the world may be finished

for whose use it was, then presently customes were enhanced, of all sorts, as Yarn, Tallow, Hide, Butter, &c. and especially Tobacco from six pence, to two shillings in the pound, by which increased an estate by any unjust exaction from the Subject.

In obtaining thirty thousand Arms, Ammunition, Artillery, &c. pretending for the security of the Kingdome, then the confiscating of the lands of *Conaught* to bring them to the Crowne as also divers other Estates, in that Kingdome, by which it might seeme to his Majesty and the State of *England*, good service done to the Crowne, it cannot be denied but that the said Lord Lieutenante shewed himselfe very severe against the Natives, neither were the British much favoured, when they came under his hand: This is but a preamble for their intended project.

Touching matters regulated in the Church it is worth a consideration, what innovations were crept in and in the regulating of Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, as the High Commission Court, &c. 'tis worth obervation, that what power the Bishop of *Derry*, *Bramble* in clawing and never ending *sermons*, not only his fellow Sovereign Bishops, but also *Arch Bishops*, to void tenants estates, and enhancing rents nigh the double value what formerly they were, this may conduce to a *Romish* policy, to keepe the Subject as poore as may be, that when time serves to insist further, and impose on them what they please; so the tenants as the Tribe of *Issachar*, must beate what *Devil* would impose on them, in a temporall Government, as also the high Commission Court, being so prevalent (that *Hillary Tearme* last 1643. at *Dublin*) in which Doctor *Harding*, was censured, to be degraded of his ministeriall function, and also of his degrees in the Colledge, and after, to be left to be proceeded against at Common Law: the cause alleadged was for maintaining, Blasphemy in the Colledge about foure yeares since, alleadging he should declare that 'twas injustice in God to condemn *Adam* for eating the apple, another charge there, was laid against

gainst him, for causing a booke to be printed in *Dublin* (though he had the approbation of the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*) intituled *Ireland's* advocate; being none of his owne worke, but sent by an acquaintance of his from *England* in manuscript, and he putting it to the presse, with an Epistle Dedicated to Sir *John Temple*, of his owne framing, in which booke they picke forth treason (as they terme it) the first exception is because the Authour is invective against Bishops, the other was in an other place of the booke, giving the Almighty thanks for the severall deliverances that *England* hath had, from the plots of the Papists, as instancing that of 88. and that of the 5. of *November* and that of the 4. of *January*, at which of the 4. of *January* they storme, and inferre to be treason, interpreting that was the day his Majesty with his attendance went to demand the five members forth of the house of Parliament, and therefore conceived treason, for ranking or comparing that day to the known Papisticall plots, and for ought as yet is known he is like to loose his life: and the bookes that could be found printed were adjudged by the said high Commission Court, to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; which accordingly was done: This is not the bondage aymed at, but one far deeper, the spirituall bondage of the soule; as looke into that Cozen-jerman to plaine Popery. Superstitious and Alter-like Service how it was enforced throughout that Kingdome of *Ireland* and they that refused; how severely they were handled in the high Commission Court, 'tis two well known, that divers Ministers that refused that way were forced to quit that Kingdome, especially some in the North.

Power being once prevalent, both in State and Church, then time served to set forward that Diabolicall plot, for the ruine and destruction of the Protestant Religion in the three Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and especially *Ireland*, and the first practice (as well 'tis observed by the authour of the Booke intituled *The Mysterie of iniquity yet working*) *Scotland*, (not reserving to what the Prelates would have forced in their

Church) tooke Armes to defend their Religion : a Passification was yielded to by his Majestie, till after invited by the Earle of *Strafford*, and others, to take armes *De novo* : hee having prepared matters sufficiently in *Ireland*, pretending against the *Scots*, and so drew downe an Armie of eight thousand, (of which 'tis well knowne of Officers, and souldiers, there were not nigh one thousand Protestants) to the Scottish shoare, where the inhabitant *Scot* of that Kingdome of *Ireland*, was by his Commands disarmed, and Garrisons planted from *Strafford* to *London-Derris* along the shoare-side. Matters then beginning to come to a ripenesse, the Earle of *Strafford* brought with him into that Kingdome of *Ireland*, at his last going over, one *Sir Toby Mathews* an arch Jesuite, made him his Comrade, (observed) none was more honoured by him then this grand Jesuite : Now observe how easie a matter it is for a Jesuite once understanding the intent, to state the hearts of other Jesuites, Friars, Seminaries, &c. and then how easie a matter, 'tis for them to state the hearts of all their people, and adherents, any man may judge that knoweth any thing.

So then if the Lord *Strafford* did shew himselfe never so great a Tyrant (as certaine hee did) not only to the Natives, but also to the Brittain; the rather to cast a cloud before the State of *England* then otherwayes; how easie it was for the Jesuites, Priests, &c. to informe the Common people, that hee was for all their good, though hee shewed himselfe otherwayes to them, as time hath brought it forth.

Wee may now evidently see, what his Plott (with others was,) as I hope to produce such conducing Circumstances as may satisfie the hearts of all good Christians, for others that are or may bee of the same faction, I leave, for who are blinder then they that will not see. A Minister who lived in the Countie of *Kildare* in *Ireland*, had some Conferēce with a Popish Priest living not farre from him, who informed the Minister, of a Plott that was contrived beyond Sea against the Protestants in *Ireland*; relating that the Irish intended to rise shortly, and that

that he had seen Letters to that purpose from beyond sea, and that those Letters were in such a Closet, with such a Jesuite, in such a mans house, naming every particular; this was about *April* 1639. The Minister finding the Priest serious, went along with him to the Earle of *Straford*, to the Castle of *Dublin*, waited his opportunitie in the Gallerie; and at last presented this Priest to the said Earle, expressing that hee had informed him of a Plot the Papists had against the Protestants; the Earle answered, 'twas some busie-pated knave or other; being urged, he could say much, replied; what could he say? the Priest being taken privately by the Earle to the further end of the Gallerie, after halfe an houres space was dismiss, there was given him by his Lordships Command, twenty pounds, a horse, and a suite of clothes to conceale the matter; and Commanded never to appeare againe, which according to his Commands was obeyed.

Time began to draw on, the Earle of *Straford* was to returne to *England*, but before hee went was pleased to expresse, that if ever hee returned to regulate that honourable Sword againe, hee would leave neither roote, nor branch, of the Scottish Nation in that Kingdome. Well, over hee goeth to the North of *England*, where hee intended the stroake should be strooke betweene the Armies, it pleased God to prevent, beyond the Expectation of men. The Earle was taken notice of, and according to his merit was required; Is this all? No, as now 'tis evident by the relation of some *Irish* Jesuites, and others, that as soone as the stroake was strooke by the Armies, betweene *England* and *Scotland*, (which was to be about *Michaelmasse* 1640.) the Earle of *Straford* was to returne for *Ireland*, then was it, that the Irish Armie being drawne down to the North as aforesaid, was to fall upon all the Inhabitant *Jews*, and *English* thereabouts, and so the *Irish* to fall upon all the *English* and *Scots* Protestants in that Kingdome, but not to murder them in such a massacring way, they only were to secure their persons and estates, till further orders, and that they were

were called to an accompt for their religion, and then refusing, should suffer.

Their Plott failing in this particular, the *Irish* waited on, as amazed, to see the issue of their Earle (as they after term'd him) 'twas *May* following before his head was taken off, and after that, the *Irish* Armie was disbanded, which was no small vexation to the *Irish* (as may further appeare in the *Irish* Remonstrance to his Majestie, that being their sixth grievance) they must then another way to worke, their agents being in *England*, they waited their return and taking their advantage of the yeare, after Harvett, the 23. of *October* 1641. began their bloody massacre, *Dennagh Mac Guire*, the Lord of *Eneskilling*s Uncle, and *Hugh Mac Mahonne*, the said Lords Secretarie, and chiefe Counsellour affirmed, that they should have begun that time twelve-moneth, had the Lord of *Straford* returned according to expectation; and also they exprest, that there were the like distempers in *England*, and that Plott was for the three Kingdomes; and had the Castle of *Dublin* bene taken, they would have sent fourtie thousand men to *England*. Being opposed by the hearer, that he could not beleve that the Earle had any hand in such a businesse; they affirmed hee had, and was to be Lord of *Ireland*, as in former ages they had; and that they would not begin when they heard his head was off, but forbore till harvest was in, and nights long, that they might set themselves in a posture of warre. For they well knew how easie it was in Summer, for *England* and *Scotland* to send an Armie to qualifie them.

Some notice may be taken of the Earles words before hee parted with his head, speaking of a Reformation in Characters of blood, and that there was a Cloud impending, which since hath proved too true to our wofull experience. (What will not ambitious Machavilians attempt to make them and their posterity great.) Most certaine it is by relation of those that were about the Lord Ambassadour to *Spaine*, that about Michaelmasse 1640. the Jesuites, Priests, and Friers, in *Spaine* expected

pected to heare newes of the distempers in *Ireland*, (the Rebellion I meane) upon which the Lord Ambassadour sent to the Court in *England*, to know the certaintie, returne was made all well and quiet, yet the said Lord Ambassadour stayed in *Spain* till about Michaelmasse 1641. all that whole yeare, the Jesuits, Priests, &c. expected daily to heare of disturbance in *Ireland*: Each particular seriously considered and compared one with another, I beleeeve may satisfie any reasonable man, that the said Earle must needs have a hand in the Plott of *Ireland*; Sir *George Ratcliffe* may be so farre taken notice of, that he stormed very much against the Churchwarden of Saint *Warbres* Parish in *Dublin*; for presenting a Masse-house that was newly erected within foure or five houses of the Castle gate, in which Masse was frequently said: and he Commanded the presentment to be cast forth of the Court, and never could further endure the said Churchwarden. There is no wonder in this, for all men that knew him, might quickly discerne his inclination to that Idolatrous, Babilonian whore.

Now, since this massacring act it hath been frequently spoken by the Rebels, that what they did was by Commission, which still they justifie. Let all Christians stand here amazed to behold the cessation of Armes to be granted to such Butcherly Heil-hounds, who have wallowed and embrewed their hands in the destruction of at least two hundred thousand Protestants, of men, women, and children, which will be particularly proved if occasion be offered. Yet it is reported that there is *Brian mac Neale*, the Ferry-mans sonne of *Strangford* in *Ireland*, who hath assumed the name of *O Neale*, one of those that at first should have surprized the Castle of *Dublin*, and who is now made Knight and Barronet, called Sir *Brian O Neale*, that doth justifie to his Majestie, that there was not above tenne persons destroyed in all *Ulster*. Againe, their Remonstrance set forth, intituled, *A Remonstrance of Grievances presented to his most Excellent Majestie in the behalfe of the Catholics of Ireland*)

wherein the Rebels doe declare, and turne the whole Rebellion on the Protestants, and stand on their own iustification that what Massacries were committed were done by the English. Are not these a people to be had in high estimation, committing such Acts as they did to stand out in their owne justification & for any thing I can see as yet like to carry it so. How prevalent the Irish faction is about the Court, is sufficiently apparent, little question their is to be made, of there obtaining a suddaine peace.

There is one thing to be taken notice of that when the Lord *Ormond* marched forth this last Summer 1643. with foure thousand horse, and foot, kept the randevous at *Curr* in *Kildare*, when they might have done good execution against the Enemy were kept above a fortnight in the field and Starved above three hundred of them returned (though they saw the enemies Coulours flying in the field) taking only one poore old Castle not worth a consideration, then after that, they were dispriced by Companies (some three thousand of them) into smale Garrisons in the pall, to secure old Castles; a weeke before the Cessation was concluded the Irish forces both of *Lin.* *ster* *Connaught*, and *Visster*, (they well knowing when to conclude the Cessation) joyned together and fell on the said small Garrisons, and destroyed many, and tooke divers prisoners, possessed themselves of a great part of *Meath* which still they enjoy. Oh let all Protestants either now open their eyes, or else resolve to undergoe the yoke that they are not, or will not be willing to beare, when it will be to late for them, then to wish I had done this or that &c. May we not now observe in what a Cloud still we are under, though faire shaddows are cast before our eyes; As that the new Lord Lieutenant *Marquesse of Ormond*, hath commanded that no Papist shall be either of his retinue, or of his Companies, in his regiment and Guard, when it may be well observed how forward he is to give way to Papists to be transported into England to serve against the Protestants, as also tis worth a consideration (that since the
Lord

Lord of *Straforde* time, and the time that *James* the Pedlar songe downe derry) the second or Alter-like Service, hath beene omitted at Christ-Church in *Dublin* in the Lord Justices time, yet now newly revived, since the Marquesse of *Ormond* received the sword, how neare still they presume to declare themselves, not what they would be at, that bewitched druncken cup of fornication; let notice bee taken likewise of the second *Ratcliffe* alias Sir *Morris Enstace* the chiefe Counsellour of that Kingdome, that in some measure declared himselfe, (one may see daylight at a litle hole) there was one that had an estate in houses in *Dublin*, and set them to tennant, the Landlord that set them, hath beene in Rebellion at this time untill the Cessation of armes, then repaired to *Dublin*, demanded his rents, from the tennant and arrearages, for two years past, the tennant answered, that it had beene lesse charge to him to have paid his rent, then to have borne that cease and presse, and billiting of Souldiers as he did, and so declared he was unable to pay his rent: the Landlord threatened to distraine, for he observed there was household stuffe left that would discharge the rent and arrearages, the tennant being thus threatned, desired the oppinion of Sir *Morris Enstace*, and informed him his case, who declared that he was bound to pay his rent, otherwise by the Law of the Land he might be distrained on.

This is a hard case that Rebels shall have their rents paid them, and that many hundreds of us Protestants ruin'd (with their wives and children) in their estates by the Rebels, and are daily begging and starving in *Dublin*, and other parts of that Kingdome (besides those that are forced to flie for succour into other Kingdomes, and no reparation can be thought of, for the keeping them alive, out of their owne estates, enjoyed now by the Rebels; whilst our army was on foote (God so blessed our poore handfull of men) that still they had the better of the

enemy, and spoyle was gained to relieve them and others, now we all suffer, and that iustly for despairing of Gods providence to us; let the authors of the Cessation looke to it; tis but in us to observe, and morne, to see that a Cessation of armes must be yeelded unto such Antichristian infernall *Locusts* as they are, and no understanding for the Protestant reformed Religion, can be hearkened unto in *England*; our own men brought from *Ireland* to be made instruments against our selves; Is not this the depth of a Machavillian mistery. we may observe the providence of the Almighty on the officers and Souldiers, (that did doe gallant Service against the Irish Rebels) which were sent into *England* how soone it pleased the Lord to declare, he was not well pleased with their comming shewing his hand on them at *Nantwich*.

Now faire opportunity may the Irish have to playe their after gaine, as they have sufficiently envited and set forth in print from *Waterford*. Entituled, Admonitions by the supreme Counsell of the confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*: To all his Majesties faithfull, loyall Subjects of the three Kingdomes, of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. against a solemne League and Covenant framed by the Malignant party, in the Parliamēt of *England*; as also a Declaration of the English Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament wherein they enseite, not only their owne Nation to stand to their Armes offensive and Defensive, but envite them to a timely and a fit prevention; as also envite all Romish Catholicke Kings, to take notice how far they are engaged in it; as much as if they should say to their Countreymen, play your after game, take a fit time to cutt all the rest of the Protestants throats and to envite other Princes. to fall upon the Massacring of all the Protestants, within their verdge.

Thus we find how active they are at the pen. let us looke a little further, & conclude what their intentions are, as doth evidently

dently appeare by their diligence, in slackning no time to set forward their intended project, how busie they (the *Irish*) have beene in procuring Armes and Ammunition since the Cessation. Sir *Pierce-Crasbie*, who about the time of Concluding the Cessation, brought over with him to *Waterford* (for the Rebels) five thousand Armes and Ammunition.

Againe, the Popes *Nuntio* (who is there frequent with them) brought over Treasure to maintaine the warre, as is said, fiftie thousand pounds.

And now lastly, about Candlemas there landed two Agents from Forraign parts, who brought over with them to *Waterford* store both of Armes and Ammunition, and much more is brought daily, though we cannot discover every particular; Doth not this demonstrate unto us their intent, and how cautious they were in the concluding of the Cessation (that proviso) to have liberty to buy Armes, and Ammunition where they pleased, either in that Kingdome, or from Forraigne parts, how frequent they are at *Dublin*, in buying Armes from the Cutlers at what rate soever, without any interruption, that a good Sword no Cutler can keepe by him, the Irish Gentry buy them so fast, and give any rates for them; What advantage is this against us, they arming themselves, and we disarming our selves, by sending our men and Armes, and Artillerie out of this Kingdome to maintaine warre against our selves, how insolent the Irish Nobilitie and Gentry doe now shew themselves against our English Nobilitie and Gentry at *Dublin*; 'tis apparant, as in the Case betweene the young Lord *Moore* and the Lord *Tate*, as also in the Case betweene Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and Captaine *Floure*, on one part Protestants; and Cornet *Mac Gragh* and *Ronih*, Papists, of the other part, the Papists taking opportunitie in the streets of *Dublin* to affront our Protestants, Lords and Gentry; they doe well to demonstrate unto us, that when their second Plott is to be set in agitation, may in *Dub-*

lin begin upon such like Quarrels in the streets, thereby to take occasion for the second cutting of throats, and once being past to flourish it over, and say 'twas some drunken quarrell or other, for at this instant, *Dublin* may take it selfe, the major part being Irish now in it.

To Conclude, now the *Scottish* Armie are resolved to depart from the North of *Ireland*, as already appears, three Regiments are waisted over into *Scotland*, (which maketh still for the Irish) and to bring to a period their Jesuiticall Plott, so as the Irish may the better performe their offer to send away tenne thousand of their chiefe Souldiers, under the Command of experienced Commanders, to keepe the Protestants in Armes in other Kingdomes, either in *England* or *Scotland*; Oh! that we might in some measure use the Pollicies of the Antient *Romans*, or of late *Queene Elizabeth* of famous Memorie did, who when the Spaniards strove to envade *England*, did afford some aide unto the *Hollander* to keepe the *Spaniards* on worke at home, by which she preserved her Kingdomes (under Gods Providence) from being a Seat of warre: So if timely prevented by *England* and *Scotland*, to keepe the warre afoote in *Ireland*, to prevent further mischief, (which is like to ensue, if the *Irish* breake forth into other Kingdomes) and so turne the Sword into their owne bosomes: which that wee may, the Lord of Hosts enable us to doe.

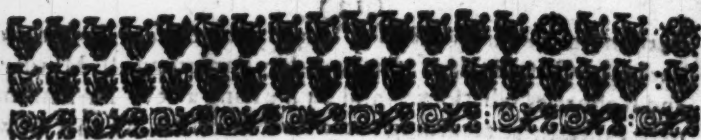
Here now it is manifest that the *Irish* have obtained not only their first request desired in their Remonstrance, which was to have one placed in chiefe Authoritie, of Honour and Fortune, approved by His Majestie, and acceptable to the Rebels, (which proveth to be the Marquesse of *Ormond*) but also the other to have a free Parliament held there, and an Act of oblivion to be made for their Rebellion; and *Poyninges* Act to be repealed: and there the Rebels to hold their Parliament; which is reported His Majestie hath yeilded unto, by granting
Pardon

(13)

Pardon to the Irish Rebels. Lately, at *Oxford* Confirmed
under the Great Seal of *England*, for Pardoning all Murders
and Robberies whatsoever, and authorizing a new Parliament
to be called there according to the Rebels desires, so that now
we must expect they will performe their promise to his
Majestie in sending ten thousand men and Armes
into *England*; Yet we know there is a King
of Kings, that can turne the wis-
dome of the wise into
foolishnesse.

Published according to Order.

FINIS.



A POSTSCRIPT TO THE READER.

Christian Reader be pleased in this tracke to consider the depth of an adversary, that aimes at the destruction of the true Protestant Religion, had the Plott held according to their jesuiticall intent, by this time there would have beene few left, to observe for future, their infernall projects, the Almighty who preserved Ioseph from the malicious intent of his brethren (to be under him) the instrument to preserve them from calamity, is the same who will deliver them that trust in him, from that which might prove worse, then the Egyptian Bondage, which every true Christian is bound to endeavour a prevention, and to take no exceptions, though they are envited by him that hath beene and is a sufferer (for Christs cause) and his Countreys sake.

Tho: Crant.

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THE
ANABAPTISTS
GROUND-WORK

For Reformation:

OR,

New Planting of Churches,

That no man, woman, nor child, may be baptized,
but such as have justifying Faith, and doe make pro-
fession thereof, before, to the Baptizer,

Found false, wub all things depending thereon.

As being contrary to the Scriptures, and to the Examples
of CHRIST and his APOSTLES,

Which was, that they all who gladly received the Word, were
baptized, though they had not yet justifying Faith.

Proved by severall Arguments.

Whereunto one T. L. a principall Baptizer, (and Apostle in
their account) hath given his Answers.

Unto which Answers, Replies are also made by I. E. And some
Arguments annexed, proving, That the Children of all such
beleevers as were baptized, and so received into the
Church, might be baptized, and received also.

With a brief declaration what the true Reformation is, and shal be,
farre above these Anabaptists, and all such carnall builders conceits.

And who the two witnesses of God are, by whom chiefly it is to be performed.

MAY 31 Imprimatur. James Cranford,

London printed by M. Simmons in Aldersgate-street. 1644.

The Preface to the Reader



I ring him to understand the occasion of this that followeth, which was, first upon some little speech had with some assurance of these Anabaptists, about their opinions and practices, some of them saying they could bring men who had as sufficient gifts and authority from God to preach and baptize, as the Apostle Peter had; And so forth which saying it was replied, That if they could bring such a one, he was worthy to be baptized more. And they answered, That they could bring many such. And it was replied again, One such a one would be sufficient. So that he were one of the best and most able.

And for the time and place being appointed, there came divers of them, whereof one sat him down at the Table, and as to be the chief speaker.

So it was told him what some had said, and he was asked, if he did profess so much of himself, or no; which he did seem in part to deny. But yet professed, that he had as good ground and authority from God for that which he undertook to do and practise, as the Apostle Peter had for that which he did.

And so hereupon some speeches passed between us touching the rule for baptizing: and the first principle or ground most affirmed by T.L. was, that every one must first have justifying faith, and profess the same to the baptizer, and he

so judge of him before he might be baptized.

Which was opposed and answered, That the receiving of the word gladly, was sufficient for outward Baptisme, though justifying faith were yet wanting. The question being concerning men and women of yeares.

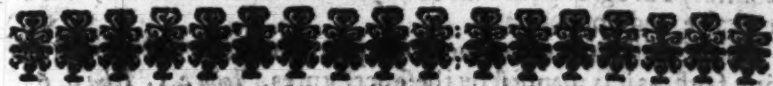
But T. L. was (by some of his company) hastned away, because many people stand at his house, as they said, to hear him preach that evening; by which means our Speech was broken off, and he went his way.

So upon these occasions the arguments which follow were written and sent him, and he hath returned his answers unto them; unto which answers replies are also made. And some arguments asfer them, so prove that little children may lawfully, according to the rule of the word of God, be baptized.

And also a brief declaration what the true reformation is and shall be, farre exceeding in spirituall and heavenly respects, the corrupt conceits of these Anabaptists, and all other such like earthly and carnall builders. And who the two witnesses of God are, by whose meanes chiefly it is to be performed. All which I referre to the consideration of the judicious Reader; desiring of God, that he would give him his holy Spirit of truth to lead him into all truth. And so I rest his Christian friend,

I.E.

The



The *Anabaptists* Ground-worke for *Reformation*, or new planting of *Churches*, found false, and disproved.



Y certain Arguments, proving by the Scriptures and Practice of Christ and his Apostles; That a Teacher sent of God may Baptize such as gladly receive the Word, though they have not yet justifying Faith, and therein do according to the rule of Christ.

The Inquiry of T. L. to this.

I make inquiry, What rule any Teacher hath, to distinguish a person gladly receiving the Word from one concluded by him in his own knowledge, void of justifying Faith at the same time, and hee to baptize the same; if no rule, then it's transgression so to do, because *Whatsoever is not of Faith is sin*, Rom. 14.

The Reply of I. E. to this Quere.

To this I reply and say, Christs example is a rule sufficient, Christ did distinguish in his own judgement, at the same time, and baptized such as gladly received his Word, though he knew they had not justifying Faith; and upon the ground of Christs example, such as he sends, may, and so do it of Faith and not sin; but *T. L.* denying this, and practising otherwise, without example or rule from Christ, doth it without faith and sinneth.

The first Argument of I. E.

If Christ did baptize, or cause to be baptized such disciples as hee knew had not justifying Faith, then such as he sends may, and not do
contrary

contrary but agreeable to the Rule, because what Christ did, was agreeable, and not contrary.

But Christ did baptize such Disciples as he knew had not justifying faith, as it is manifest by these Scriptures, *John 4.1. John 6. 64, 65, 66.* Therefore such as he sends, may.

The answer of T. L.

I answer, by distinction of Christs practice from ours in respect of his knowledge above his Ministers; in which respect it was not agreeable, but above the rule given to the Ministers of Baptisme, and therefore, his practice in reference to his knowledge, no rule for his Ministers in reference to theirs. And thus is your first argument refuted.

The Reply of J. E.

This distinction of *T. L.* in putting such a difference between Christs practice, and the rule given to his Ministers in respect of his knowledge, is utterly false: for the more perfect Christs knowledge was, the more perfect was his practice, giving his Apostles and Ministers an example for them to follow.

And although they could not follow him in the measure, and fullness of his knowledge, he being God, and knowing all things; yet as he knew how to distinguish and put a difference between such as gladly received his word, and so farre became his disciples, fitted to be entertained into the outward state of the Church by outward Baptisme, and this kind of beleevng; and such as afterward by a more excellent gift of the Spirit, did eat his flesh, and drink his blood, beleve in him unto justification and life: So he gave gifts to his Apostles, and such as he sent, whereby they were able to discern and distinguish between persons and persons, between faith and faith; and knew that they which gladly received the word, were to be baptized, though yet wanting justifying faith. And so according to Christs example, through the grace and gift given them, they practiced, as *Act. 2.4. Act. 8. 12, 13.* where they baptized such, of whom some fell away, as also some of them did whom Christ baptized, and some continued, having obtained a more excellent precious faith, by a more excellent and more peculiar gift of the Spirit, as is evident by *Iob. 6. 66, 67, 68, 69. Act. 1. 31, 32 &c. Act. 1. 2, 3. &c. Act. 14. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.*

If Christ had intended to give a rule to his Ministers, that they should baptize none but such as had justifying faith, then doubtlesse

esse he having perfect knowledge, would himselfe have baptized none but such onely, and would have given straight charge to his Ministers (as Paul did in another case to Timothy, 1. Tim. 5. 22. *Lay hands suddenly on no man*) so unto them, Beware that ye baptize no man suddenly, but stay till he shew that pretious faith by his works, and words of his mouth, proceeding from the good treasure of his heart, which is the fruit whereby ye shall know it and him also, that his heart is purified by that faith, and then baptize him. If T. L. could shew such an example of Christ, and rule for baptisme, as this, he might say something to his purpose; oherwise, nothing. And as for his boast of refelling the argument, I leave it to the reader to consider how he hath done it.

The second Argument.

If the Rule of Christ had been to baptize none but such Disciples as were to be judged to have justifying faith: Then would not Christ have baptized any that he did not so judge of. But Christ did baptize such as he did not so judge of: Therefore that was not the rule.

The answer of T. L.

I deny the Major Proposition, because Christs knowledge was above the rule given to the Ministers.

The Reply of I. E.

Here again T. L. makes Christs knowledge a ground for him to practise above the rule (as he calls it) given to the Ministers, as if Christ were so unmercifull as to enioyne his Ministers a rule to observe, which he knew they could not; and that himselfe though he could, would not, that he might by his knowledge give them a contrary example not for them to follow, though hee knew they could; but that they must necessarily either judge that to be, which is not, or that they were utterly ignorant of; and so sinne not doing it of faith. This is the consequence of T. L. his doctrine.

The third Argument.

If Christ or his Apostles had taken it for granted, that all whosoever they baptized, had before it eaten Christs flesh, and drunk his blood, beleeved in him unto justification and life; had received his Spirit of adoption, and so judged of them; Then did they contradict their owne judgements by saying to some of them to soon after, *Except ye*

eat the flesh of the Sonne of Man, and drink his blood, yee have no life in you, Ioh. 6. 53. There be some of you that beleve not, Ioh. 6. 64. He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, Rom. 8. 9. Some of you have not the knowledge of God, &c. 1 Cor. 15. 34. I feare lest when I come, I shall not find you such as I would, &c. 2 Cor. 13. 20, 21. I am

But neither Christ nor his Apostles may be said to contradict their own judgements: Therefore they did not so take it for granted, nor so judge, neither was it the rule.

The Answer of T. L.

To which I answer, first, that some of your Scriptures quoted, prove not your proposition; because that although a man have justifying faith, another may say unto him, Except yee eat the flesh of the Sonne of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. And this may be said to him also. He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his.

Secondly, I answer; that neither Christ, nor his Apostles, did require any to be baptized, but such as did professe they had justifying faith: and therefore if there were any contradiction, it was in them that did professe to have justifying faith, and had it not, and not in Christ, nor his Apostles.

Thirdly, I answer, That although Christ did not take it for granted, nor so judge of all that were admitted to baptism to have justifying faith, when they were admitted; because he had power to discern above the rule given to the Ministers of Baptisme; yet the Apostles did, at the time when they were received to baptism, though afterward some did discover themselves destitute thereof. And therefore it was the rule.

The Reply of I. E.

To the first, where T. L. denieth some of the Scriptures quoted, to prove the proposition, and allowing the rest, he thereby grants the proposition proved, but the places he excepts against, prove it also: For if Christ had so judged, and taken it for granted, then he would not himselfe have said, Except yee eat the flesh of the Sonne of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. There be some of you that beleve not. Neither would Paul have said to one that he judged to have the Spirit of Christ, and to be his as in the way of supposition; He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. For Paul did not judge when he judged, upon seeming shewes, or thinking, but of knowledge, upon sure evidence. So that these places as well as the rest, doe prove the Proposition true. That

if they had so judged, as *T. L.* would have it, then did they contradict their own judgements.

Secondly, where he saith, That neither Christ nor his Apostles did require any to be baptized, but such as did profess to have justifying faith, and so making the contradiction to lie in them that professed they had it, and had it not. *T. L.* here speaks, as if indeed Christ and his Apostles did enjoin the people to make such a profession when they were to be baptized, else they might not be baptized, and so enjoin them to profess a lie, and themselves to believe it, and so judge upon their profession: which is very false and wicked for any to speake or think. Neither was Christ or his Apostles so unwise, as to judge or conclude in their minds, upon such an uncertain profession.

For although there were some that had justifying Faith, were true Israelites, such as worshipped God and wrought righteousness, as *Nathanael* and *Cornelius*, the *Eunuch*, *Lydia*, &c. who might give such testimony of that precious peculiar faith, as that (although they were not yet so much as Disciples of Christ) both Christ and his Apostles might (and that truly) so judge of them. And when they had preached Christ now come, and his Gospel unto them, and they gladly receiving it, they might baptize them, which before they might not, though they had justifying Faith, and that they knew it. Although I say, these could give such a testimonie of that speciall faith, as that not only Christ, but also his Apostles after him, could rightly judge of it; yet was it not the rule for outward baptism, neither did they, nor could they so judge of all whom they baptized, neither did they require such a profession from them as *T. L.* would have it.

Thirdly, whereas *T. L.* saith, that although Christ did not take it for granted, nor so judge, yet the Apostles did; which to prove, he quotes *Phil. 2. 12.* the words are these, *Even as it is meet for me to think of you all.* Whereby *T. L.* would make *Paul* like unto himselfe, to put no difference between judging upon knowledge and confidence, and thinking well upon some kind of hope or probability. Wherein he greatly wrongs the Apostle.

For the Apostle, he directing his Epistle especially to the Saints, (as his usual manner was to all other Churches) to unto the Saints in *Philippi*, of whose fruit hee had had good experience, judgeth confidently of many, thinks well of all that he writes to, and layes of others clean contrary, *For many walk, of whom I have told you often,*

and now tell you even weeping that they are enemies to the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, &c. Phil. 3. 18. So that this place serves nothing at all to prove, as T. L. would have it, that the Apostles took that for granted to be, which was not, and judged contrary to Christs judgement.

The fourth Argument.

Which is to prove, That such a beleife as those disciples had that fell away, mentioned *Matth. 13. 21, 22. Job. 16. 6, 4. 65. Acts 5. 1. 2. Acts 8. 17.* is sufficient for outward baptisme.

To this preface of the Argument T. L. first answers, saying,

To which I answer, that it is sufficient in respect of the Minister, who cannot but conclude them to have justifying faith by their profession; till they manifest the contrary; but not sufficient in respect of the subject requiring Baptisme.

The Reply of J. E. to this.

In this answer T. L. speaks again, as though Christs Ministers were bound by the word of the Lord, and their own consciences, to conclude the glad receiving of the Word, such a beleife as men may have & fall from, and so perish, to be justifying faith, and the people so to conclude of it in themselves, and professe. So upon their profession being a lie, the Minister is to conclude a lie for a truth, and so baptize them: Whereas (if the people had been so ignorant, and bold, as to conclude their glad receiving the word, or beleife which they might have, and yet fall away, and perish, to be true justifying Faith, & professe as much) yet the true Ministers of Christ, especially the Apostles, they understood better, and knew justifying Faith to be a more excellent thing, and therefore would have reprov'd their ignorance and boldnes, and informed them truly what justifying Faith was, and the necessity of it, according as Christ and his Apostles did afterward very often, and that with many exhortations and teares, as the Scriptures witnesse, knowing that their gladly receiving the word, that common beleife and outward baptisme, was not sufficient to salvation. T. L. quotes for the ground of his opinion & doctrine, *Luk. 14. 33.* which how it serves for his turn, you may see.

The

The Argument it selfe.

That which the holy Ghost hath by the Evangelist *Luke* written down and affirmed of *Simon Magus*, he knew to be true, and wee are bound to beleve it. But the holy Ghost hath by the Evangelist *Luke*, written down and affirmed, that *Simon Magus* also, as the other of *Samarita*, beleved and was baptized. Therefore such a beleife as *Simon Magus* had, was, and is sufficient for outward baptism, according to the Rule.

The answer of T. L.

I answer, true, in respect of *Philip*, who when he baptized him, did not know but that hee had justifying faith; but in respect of *Simon* himselfe not so.

Secondly, I answer, that as *Luke* affirms of his Faith, so he affirms of his being in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquitie.

As the state of being in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity, doth not present a person a fit subiect for baptism in *Lukes* esteem, no more doth such a Faith as doth not distinguish a person from such a one. The former I suppose you will grant: Ergo, *Luke* doth not esteeme such a beleife sufficient for baptism, according to the rule, in respect of the subiect baptized.

Thirdly, by this reasoning it will follow, that a person which in case were in the Church, should be excommunicated out of the Church by the rule, should be received into the Church by baptism, which is contradiction.

The Reply of I. E.

Here again *T. L.* grants such a beleife as *Simon Magus* had, sufficient for outward Baptisme, in respect of *Philip*, who when he baptized him, did not know but that he had justifying faith; but in respect of *Simon* himselfe not so.

Where he maketh ignorance, which he falsely chargeth *Philip* with to excuse him, but not *Simon Magus*, though he were far more ignorant than he. And yet *T. L.* in his ignorance, (for I will not say he doth it with knowledge) chargeth *Philip* with two severall great finnes, making him guiltie of them both, in that he saith *Philip* did not know but that *Simon Magus* had justifying faith when he baptized him.

For if *Philip* was to have knowne, and did not know that *Simon* had justifying faith, and yet judged and concluded that he had it, which is *T. L.* doctrine for the rule. Then did *Philip* sinne, in so judging and concluding, not doing it of faith, because *whatsoever is not of faith is sinne*, as *Paul* saith, *Rom. 14.*

But *Philip* did not know that *Simon* had justifying faith, & yet he baptized him. Therefore *T. L.* chargeth *Philip* with two great finnes at least, first in judging and concluding *Simon* to have that which he had not; and secondly, in his baptizing him upon the same also, not of faith.

For, if to eate and not of faith, that is to say, not of a full perswasion in the heart, be sinne, as *Paul* saith, *Rom. 14. 23.* then much more to judge and conclude in so great a matter, as justifying faith to be in a man when it is not, and to baptize him also, and not of faith, is sinne.

But it is otherwise then *T. L.* teacheth: *Philip* did know assuredly, and judge and conclude rightly of *Simon Magus*, that he did believe as the other of *Samaritis* beleeved. So as that according to the rule and example of Christ, he might be baptized, and was.

And whereas secondly, *T. L.* invents a kind of Argument against the Evangelist *Luke*, from the Apostle *Peter's* words to *Simon Magus*, written down by *Luke*, *Thou art in the gall of bitterness, &c.* saying, As the state of being in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquitie, doth not present a person a fit subject for Baptisme in *Luke's* esteem, no more doth such a faith as doth not distinguish a person from such a one; and hereupon wickedly but cunningly concludes, that *Luke* did no more esteeme the faith that *Simon Magus* had by the preaching of *Philip*, and his seeing the miracles that he did through the name of Christ, a gift of the Spirit of God, sufficient to make him a fit subject for Baptisme, then he did his being in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquitie, through the spirit of Satan sometime after.

All one as if *T. L.* should say and argue to prove, that *Judas* his reason against Christ so wickedly acted by him, when the Devil was entred into him, so long after he had through the word of Christ, and gift of the holy Ghost, beleeved, and was baptized, made him as fit a subject for baptisme, as the faith that he had when he was baptized, in the esteeme of *Luke* and the rest of the Evangelists that writ of him, which were very blasphemous to speake, or once to goe about to argue to such purpose.

And

And whereas *T. L.* in his third place saith, By this reasoning it will follow, that a person which in case were in the Church, should be excommunicated out of it by the rule, should be received into the Church by baptism, which were contradictory.

In this *T. L.* saith true in respect to his owne reasoning: for if *Simon Magus* his being in the gall of bitterneffe, &c. made him as fit a subject for baptism, as the faith he had when he was baptized: then he was now well fitted by *T. L.* his arguing to be baptized again; and it is very probable, if one may judge upon probabilities, which is *T. L.* his rule, that he hath baptized some such persons himselfe again and again.

And let me ask *T. L.* if it be not contradictory for a Baptizer, though as great an Apostollicke one as himselfe, to judge all that he baptizeth, to have justifying faith, and to be a Church of regenerate Saints, and yet be but a Church of hypocrites, for any certaintie of judgement he hath to the contrary.

The fifth Argument.

If Christ and his Apostles knew that there were and would be in the Church such beleiving Disciples baptized according to the rule of Christ, as would be like the stony and thorny ground, as well as good ground, hypocrites, and such as would offend the little ones that beleived in Christ, and despise him, hold heresies, &c. and that it must needs be so, that they which are approved may be known: Then did not Christ nor his Apostles judge and account all that were and would be in the Church, to be of the little ones that beleived in Christ, of the approved ones.

But Christ and his Apostles knew that there were and would be such in the Church, as well as of the little ones, the approved ones, as it is evident by *Matth. 13. 21, 22. Ioh. 6. 64, 65. Acts 5. 1, 2. Acts 8. 13. Acts 10. 19, 30. Matth. 18. 6, 7. 1 Cor. 11. 18, 19.* and sundry other places. Therefore they did not so account and judge of all.

The Answer of T. L.

I answer this argument confounds things that are to be distinguished: First, we must distinguish between the judgement and account of Christ, which was above the rule given to the Apostles to judge by, and the Apostles judgement according to the same rule.

Secondly, we must distinguish between being, and what possibly they might be, and the Apostles judgement in relation to both.

Thirdly, we are to distinguish between the whole jointly, and the parts severally, and the Apostles judgement in relation to either.

Lastly we are to distinguish of the persons in respect of the time of their coming for baptism, and the time of their continuance in the Church. These things thus premised, the answer is easie.

First, that Christ knowing things infallibly, did not account of all that were admitted into the Church by baptism, to be true believers, and approved, and yet no rule to baptize any other but such as were so judged when they were admitted, by them that admitted them, and none of the places alleged doe prove the contrary.

The Apostles indeed might judge that those whom they conceived to have justifying faith according to probability, might possibly be destitute of it according to certainty.

And that although there were contentions, and some great faults in the Church in the generall, so concluded by the Apostles; yet not determined who were the particulars always that caused the same, might leave the search of that to the Congregation, who were to censure them accordingly. And also having found the particulars, they being in the Church, the event of private and brotherly admonition and reprobation, must be tried before they be excommunicated. Whereas, if they were not of the Church, they must manifest repentance for every evil known, before they be received to baptism. *Matth. 3. 6. Act. 2. 38.*

The Reply of I. E.

First, where T. L. saith, the Argument confounds things that are to be distinguished, he speaks not truly, it confounds nothing. Only it proves sufficiently that Christ and his Apostles did know, and so may we by their testimonies and our owne experience, that there alwayes were, and would be in the Church, baptized according to rule, such as the places quoted doe describe, and that the Church in the outward state thereof generally considered, was never, nor is otherwise to be judged of.

There will be false brethren, false teachers, hypocrites, such as hold heresies, stony ground, thorny ground, covetous persons, lovers of this present world, proud, boasters, lovers of pleasures more then lovers of God, carnall corrupt persons, whose belly is their God, minding earthly things, having eyes full of adultery, contentions, &c.

And

And also of Gods elect, some yet remaining, like some of the former & of them unregenerate, and some regenerate sanctified ones justified by faith in Iesus Christ, whom the holy Ghost calleth, good ground, trees of righteousness, the children of wisdom, the children of God, the called of God in Iesus Christ, beloved of God, Saints by calling, sanctified in Iesus Christ, the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth, the body and spouse of Christ, living stones built on Iesus Christ, the chief corner stone, a spirituall house, a Kingly Priesthood which doe offer up spirituall sacrifices acceptable to God by Iesus Christ: and of whom Christ saith, *And upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, &c.*

For although the other evil sorts are altogether with these, in the outward state of the Church, partaking with them in common things, yet these onely properly and truly, spiritually and inwardly considered, are the Church of the living God, his Temple and Tabernacle. And to this Church doe all the most speciall peculiar priviledges and treasures, graces, gifts and promises belong. And when the Apostles wrote their Epistles to the severall distinct Churches, as that of *Rome, Corinth*, and the rest, they directed them chiefly to these who were beloved of God, called to be Saints, sanctified in Christ Iesus, as appeareth plainly, *Rom. 1. 7. 1 Cor. 1. 2. Eph. 1. 1. Phil. 1. 1. Col. 1. 2. 1 Thess. 1. 1. 4. 1 Pet. 1. 2.* Although they did not sever them by name, nor by person from the other distinctly, because they knew them not, all, from the others, nor the most of them; yet some they did know, and named them distinctly by name, as may be instanced.

So that in this manner did Christ and his Apostles judge of the Church, and distinguish in their judgements, and so ought we to doe by their example and rule.

Christ did not give us a rule, nor a gift, to know all things as he knew all things; but he hath given, and doeth give to his Ministers and Seryants, and Saints, rules and examples, and gifts, whereby to understand his word, whereby to walk, whereby to judge righteous judgement: but no rule, nor example, nor gift, to judge short of it, or above it, to judge unrighteous judgement.

And whereas *T. L.* saith, that the Apostles indeed might judge those whom they conceived to have justifying faith according to probability, might possibly bee destitute of it according to cer-

By this he would seem to speak somewhat more favourably of the Apostles, but indeed makes them as ignorant, faulty and corrupt in their judgments and judgings, as the hypocriticall Jewes, as they of the Church of Rome at this time, as our high Commission Court that lately was, as himselfe, for they all as well as he, could iudge upon conceivings and probabilities, sometimes right, sometimes wrong, possibly they might condemne a just man & innocent, and set free a murderer; and possibly they might doe otherwise. But no certaine righteous iudgment will T. L. allow the Apostles more then these, and himselfe.

So that the Apostles are nothing at all beholding to T. L. for his favourable conceit of them. If the Apostles judgements had been no sounder, there was small reason then, that they should be so credited as they were, especially of the children of wisdom. But it was otherwise, they judged righteous judgement, and understood what they said and did.

And whereas T. L. among his many distinctions saith, we are to distinguish between being, and what possibly may be, and of persons in respect of the time of their coming for Baptisme, and the time of their continuance.

I aske him, If such a distinction be to be made; which I grant, so it be rightly done, why then, he did not distinguish between the time of *Simon Magus* beleeving, and being baptized, and the time afterward when he would have given the Apostle *Peter* money for the gift of the holy Ghost, and between his beleeving; and this action from his mouth, whereby he discovered his heart unto *Peter*, but study to invent without any distinction of time, or condition of state, such a wicked argument against the Evangelist *Luke*, and so against *Philip*, and the truth it selfe.

And as concerning the latter part of his answer, where he saith, that although there were contentions in the Church, and so a great fault in the generall, so concluded by the Apostle, yet not determined who were the particulars alwayes that caused the same, might leave the search of that to the Congregation, &c.

He in these words admits unto the Apostle *Paul*, to iudge somewhat better then upon conceiving and probabilities, when he spake of faults in the generall, and of some in particular, &c.

And so T. L. goes on, telling how the Church is to proceed in brotherly admonition, &c. which because it is not any thing to the question in hand, I leave it till some other occasion. Onely I aske

T. L.

T. L. upon his last words, why he will have no repentance after baptism, seeing *Peter* exhorts *Simon Magus* to repent of his sinne after his Baptisme; is T. L. one that will have no acknowledging nor asking forgiveness of sinnes after justification, he holds all justified whom he baptizes, therefore it is probable, though they may prove but a Church of hypocriticall Pharisees, like other false Churches, when he hath all done.

The sixth Argument.

If to judge after the outward appearance, be to judge like the hypocriticall Jewes, and not to judge righteous judgement; Then is not such kinde of judging after the outward appearance, the rule which Christ gave to his Church to judge by.

But to judge after the outward appearance, is to judge like the hypocriticall Jewes; and not to judge righteous judgement, as Christ declareth, *Joh. 7. 24.* Therefore such kinde of judging is not the rule which Christ gave to his Church to judge by.

The Answer of T. L.

I Answer, Wee must distinguish upon outward appearance, for it must not be that we must not judge the tree by the fruit, nor the heart by the words of the mouth, for that were to contradict the Scriptures, Rom. 10. 9, 10. and to make Christ contrary to himselfe, Mat. 7. 16. 20. Chap. 15. 18, 19. Mar. 7. 20, 21, 22. Jam. 2. 18. But by outward appearance is meant the contemptible respect Christ's person was in in the eyes of the world, by which they did not esteem his works according to their due worth, and consequently did not value his doctrine, which was ratified thereby.

The latter outward appearance, is not the rule in which respect I grant your Argument true. The former outward appearance is the rule which Christ gave to his Church to judge by, and your Argument hath no prooffe to the contrary.

The reply of I. E.

T. L. answers by distinguishing still as his manner hath been, and saith, we must distinguish upon outward appearance, &c. Whereas Christ condemns all judging after the outward appearance, to be an unrighteous kinde of judging, and requires all judgement to be according to truth and righteousness, admitting no error or saying in

in judging at all. So that there is no distinction to be made between judging after the outward appearance, and judging after the outward appearance, no more then there is between being a Jew onely outwardly, and being a Jew onely outwardly.

But T. L. grants the argument true from the place alledged, and refuseth that kinde of judging to be the rule: The former which he mentioneth from *Mat. 7. 16. 20.* to judge the tree by the fruit, and the heart by the words of the mouth; this he accounts to be the rule, but would by his distinguishing make it a judging after the outward appearance also; and, so in substance, no more righteous judgement then the other which Christ condemns; for no doubt he will have it to agree with that kind of judging which he hath strove to maintaine all this while. Those words of Christ, *Mat. 7. 16. 20.* I doe acknowledge and hold to be the rule that Christ hath given to his Church and children of wisdom, to judge the heart of man by, and that it is a most true and perfect rule, whereby they may and shall know a false Prophet, and also a true, a true Christian and also a false, but no rule for Baptisme.

And although the words are plaine, that they shall know them by their fruit, as certainly as men doe know a good tree and a bad tree by their fruit, yet it will not be so understood by T. L. he will distinguish upon knowing as he did upon outward appearance, and make it but a thinking, or a conceiving, or a knowing probably at the most (which is no knowing at all:) for he will have it agree with that which he had said before in his answer to the fifth argument, these words; *The Apostles indeed might judge that those whom they conceived to have justifying faith, according to probability, might possibly be destitute of it according to certainty; and so make it like this.*

But there is no marvelling at T. L. herein, for there be many that will concur with him in this opinion of his, because (although every man hath the gift, and can know and judge a good tree, and a bad tree by their fruit, and that certainly) for a man cannot be said to know that to be which is not certainly so; yet the gift of knowing the fruit of a man, and the heart by the fruit (the words which proceed from the good or evill treasure of his heart) is not so common. This gift is a speciall gift, peculiar to the children of Wisdom onely.

For who did know and judge rightly of *John* the Baptist, and of Christ by their fruit, the words that proceeded out of their mouths,

mouthes, and justified that excellent wisdom from above, which they spake and uttered, but the children of wisdom? as Christ saith, *But wisdom is justified of her children*, as *Matth. 11. 19.* So here, *Matth. 7. 16.* *Ye shall know them by their fruits, Doe men gather grapes of thornes, or figges of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evill fruit. And concludes, Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them; Ye, saith the Lord, he doth not say, every man, nor the wise and prudent of the world, but ye, even they, and onely they, for whom he gave thanks unto God, saying, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast shewed them to Babes, &c. *Matth. 11. 25.* those whom he had (a little before) so often pronounced Blessed, *Matth. 5.* and now in this place, *Mat. 7.* fore-warneth them of false Prophets that should arise and come unto them in sheeps clothing, but inwardly were ravening wolves, such as if it were possible, should deceive even the very elect, and saith, *Ye shall know them by their fruit; know them and that certainly, otherwise it cannot be knowing, neither could it availe them.**

And if any man shall object the words of *St. Paul* against this, where he saith, *What man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. 2.* and say, here the Apostle seemeth to make it a thing impossible for one man to know the things of another mans heart, but his own spirit which is in him: Even so the things of God, &c.

To which I answer, It is true, the Apostle doth not onely seem, but he saith it plainly, as a thing whereof no man is ignorant: For *what man (saith he) knoweth the things of a man? Or*

But we are to consider his words that follow, *Now we have received (saith he) not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given us of God, which things also we speak not in the words that mans wisdom teacheth, but which the holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual things.*

But the naturall man (saith he) receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishnes to him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spirituall, judgeth all things, yet he himselfe is judged of no man, 1 Cor. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.

By which words the Apostle removeth the objection quite, and sheweth, that although it be true, that the naturall man knoweth

not, nor can discern the things of man, much lesse the things of God, because they are spirituallly discerned; yet the spirituall man, they that are spirituall, having the Spirit of God, the mind of Christ, they can, they both know God and Christ, and the things of God, by the words which proceed out of his mouth; and they know also the things of man, by the words that come forth of his mouth from the good or evill treasure of his heart: for from *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speakes*, as Christ saith, *Luke 6. 45*. And so by their fruit they can and doe know them, which the naturall man cannot possibly doe.

This is the rule that Christ hath given to his Church and chosen people, the humble and meek (who have received his Spirit) whereby to know a false Prophet, and also a true, a false-hearted Christian brother, and also a true, when they discover their hearts by their words, which some time or other they cannot but doe, as Christ saith, *Matth. 7*.

But this is not the rule for outward baptisme, as T. L. would make it, Christ did not enioyne his Apottles and Ministers thus to know and judge of the hearts of men before they baptized them. Nay, then they might as well lay their hands on them also before it, in approbation of them, which was alwayes performed after baptisme.

Neither did *Philip* so know and judge of the hearts of them of Samaria, whom he baptized, whereof *Simon Magus* was one; yet he judged rightly of them all; he saw and knew that they beleeved so farre in that kind, as made them meet for outward baptisme; even *Simon Magus* as well as the rest, and did not lay his hands on any of them, but left them so, till their fruit might make them manifest.

But after some time had passed, and that *Peter* was come to Samaria, and having searched them, and finding the hearts of some of them right in the sight of God, he approving them, laid his hands on them, and they received the gift of the holy Ghost. But finding the heart of *Simon Magus* to be otherwise, he rejected him, onely reproves him, and bids him repent of his wickednesse, &c. So *Peter* tried them thoroughly, and did not lay his hands suddenly on any of them, according to which also *Paul* practised, *Acts 19. 5. 6*. and so chargeth *Timothy*, saying, *Lay hands suddenly on no man, &c. 1 Tim. 5. 22*. and so the order of these principles of Christ, is set down and described, *Heb. 6. 1, 2*. and so the Apostles and Elders

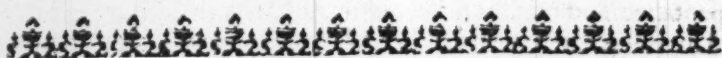
ders in their time preached and practised according as Christ gave them example, order and rule, preaching as he did, saying, *The Kingdome of God is at hand, repent ye, and beleve the Gospel, Mark 1. 15.* according to that which he spake, *Luke 24. And that repentance and remission of sinnes should be preached in his name among all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem, vers. 47.* For these are the first principles of Christ the doctrine of Baptismes, which whosoever did beleve, assent unto, and gladly receive, became Disciples, and were baptized with outward baptism; and afterward, they that attained to true repentance, and remission of their sinnes, through faith in his name, and shewing forth the fruit thereof, were approved. And therefore Christ said unto some that beleved on him in that common kind of beleeving, *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my Disciples indeed, and yee shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free, Job. 8. 32, 33.* And again, *Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away, and every branch that beareth fruit he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth, &c. Ioh. 15.*

By all which it is manifest, that such a beleeving on Christ as the former, which onely maketh a man a Disciple fit for outward baptism, such a grafting into the vine availeth nothing, if he attaine not to true repentance in his own heart, and to the faith that worketh by love, that bringeth forth good fruit from his heart, he cannot be approved in the sight of God, nor of his Church, God will cut him off as a branch, and withered.

Therefore, I say, it is no marvelling greatly at T. L. that he knoweth not how to judge righteous judgement, he being, (as well as many thousands more are) destitute of those speciall peculiar graces and gifts of the Spirit, whereby to know it, and so judge according to the Rule of Christ, *Matth. 7. Ye shall know them by their fruit.*

And now I put a question to T. L. which is this, That if without all contradiction, *the lesser is blessed of the greater*, as the Apostle saith, *Heb. 7. 7.* And that the Elders that were ordained in the Apostles time, were ordained by the approbation and laying on of hands of the Apostles and Elders, who were in those heavenly respects greater then they on whom they laid their hands; Then where and who that greater is that did so ordain him, I mean T. L. that placed him in the Chaire, and gave him power to make Disciples, baptize, plant Churches, and taught him so to judge as he speaks? If he can-

not shew that greater, like some of those before mentioned, nor a greater then they that did so ordain him, & place him, and give him authoritie and power to doe al those things: If he cannot doe this, I say, then is he not so neere like the Apostle *Peter*, as he professeth himselfe to be; but sheweth himselfe to be a very bold presumptuous person, in taking so much upon him; and his sinne in this is greater then his opinion of ignorance concerning the Rule before spoken of: of which with this I advise him to repent, and so farewell.



Severall Arguments proving by necessary Consequence from the Scriptures, that the little children of all such beleevers of the Gospel as may rightly, according to the rule of Christ, be received into the outward state of the Church, by outward baptism, may also be baptized and received.

The first Argument.

IF it was a lawfull and requisite thing once in the time of the Law of *Moses*, by the same Law for little children to be received into the outward state of the Church, and so be distinguished from the heathen and uncircumcised people; and that *Christ* hath been, and is as faithfull in and over all his own House, as *Moses* was in his, and as gracious to little children as he: Then it is a lawfull and requisite thing now in the time of the Gospel, for little children to be received into the outward state of the Church, and so be distinguished from the heathen and unbaptized.

But it was a lawfull and requisite thing then, and *Christ* is as faithfull in his House, and as gracious to little children, as *Moses*. Therefore it is a lawfull and requisite thing now in the time of the Gospel.

The second Argument.

If the least thing that could and did distinguish little children in the time of the Law from the heathen and uncircumcised, was the circum-

circumcision in the flesh, and that they were to have it. And that the least thing that little children can have now in the time of the Gospel, to distinguish them from the heathen and unbaptized, is outward baptism: Then they are to have it, as well as they were to have the other.

But the least thing that was then to distinguish little children from the heathen and uncircumcised, was the circumcision in the flesh; and the least thing that can now distinguish a little child from the heathen and unbaptized, is outward baptism. Therefore as they were then to have that, so they are now to have this.

The third Argument.

If the children of the Gentiles that became Proselytes in the time of the Law, being circumcised and received into the Church of the Jewes, were and might lawfully be circumcised, and received also with their parents, and so from generation to generation, all one with the Jewes:

Then may now still lawfully the children of us Gentiles, who having believed the Gospel, and being baptized, and received into the Church of Christians, be baptized and received also, and so from generation to generation.

But it was so then in the time of the Law, with the Gentile Proselytes, and their children: Therefore it may lawfully be so now in the time of the Gospel, with us Gentile Christians, and our children.

The fourth Argument.

If outward baptism doth, as well as outward circumcision did, set forth and signify the circumcision of Christ made without hands, the circumcision of the heart, in the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the same circumcision of Christ; and that little children were to receive that signe, the outward circumcision: Then little children are to have this signe, outward baptism, it being the signe of the same circumcision of the heart, made without hands.

But outward baptism doth, as well as outward circumcision did, set forth and signifie the circumcision of Christ, that of the heart, made without hands, in the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the same circumcision of Christ, as the Apostle

Paul

Paul doth plainly declare, *Coloss.* 2. 11, 12, 13. where hee giveth unto the circumcision of the heart (which he calleth the circumcision of *Christ*, the name *Baptisme*, as it formerly had the name of *Circumcision*, making baptisme and circumcision both one in respect of the thing signified.

Therefore as little children were to have that signe, so they are to have this: The circumcision of the heart being the token of the covenant which God made with *Abraham* and his seed, of which seed all the faithfull Gentiles are part, as *Paul* declareth, *Rom.* 4. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.

The fifth Argument.

If *Christ* did receive little children when they brought them unto him, and take them in his armes and blesse them, and that this was a greater thing then outward baptisme, and he esteemed them meet for the same, because the kingdome of heaven is of such as they, and so for that cause rebuked those that forbad them to bee brought: Then did he also esteeme them meet for outward baptisme, which is the lesser, and would no doubt have rebuked also, such as should have forbidden or denied them it.

But the first is all true, as it is written, *Mark* 10. 13, 14. Therefore the second is true also.

An Objection.

If any shall object, and say, There is no plain word requiring little children to be baptized, as there was to be circumcised; nor any example in all the New Testament, that little Children by name, as Men and Women by name, were baptized.

Answer.

To which I answer, first for a word requiring it, there needs none, that commandement which required circumcision, requirith this, this being to the same purpose, signifying as well as that, the circumcision or baptisme of the heart, for both are one.

And so the Apostle *Paul* by another commandement in the Law, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the corn, proveth that those Messengers and Ministers of God, that tread out, or preach unto us the word of the Gospel, ought to be provided for, and

and supplied with sufficient food and other necessary things, though it should extend to a tenth part of all that a man hath, as it was in the Law, as *Paul* also saith, *Doth not he that is taught in the word, make him that hath taught him partaker of all his goods?*

Christ gave no new commandment for this, the former serveth; whereby the Apostle proveth it. So the commandment for circumcision serveth also to prove baptisme, if there were no other prooffe.

Again, if little children may not be baptized, because there is no plain word requiring it, nor example mentioned that by name they were: Then neither may women partake of the Lords Supper, because there is not a word requiring it; nor an example plainly set down, that women by name did. Now, who dares be so bold therefore to conclude they may not? If they say, it is to be proved by necessary consequence, which I grant and say the same for the baptizing little children, and have so proved it.

And the baptizing of *Lydia* and her household, and the Keeper of the prison and all his house, *Act. 16. 15, 32, 33.* if probabilities may serve to prove things, which is *T. L.* his rule, Then it is very probable that little children were baptized: for in all probabilities there were children, or one child at least, in one of these households. And besides, it is as probable, that if little children were not to be baptized, the Apostle *Paul*, or the Evangelist *Luke* at least, (mentioning them by the names of whole household, & all his house) would, then, have said, Except little children.

And considering also that the name Household, House, Family, doth, and did then especially, properly intend and imply children, as the house of *Jacob*, the house of *David*, *I and my House* (saith *Josua*) *will serve the Lord*, where, by their house, is meant their children and off-spring. And a man may be said, as the Keeper of the Prison was, to beleeve with all his house, though a little child were in it, because it is understood that a little child cannot beleeve, and needs not therefore to be excepted in respect of beleeving, and yet be baptized.

And seldome is there a household or family that hath not some children in it, or a child at least; so that here is great probability, that children were baptized, or at least might be, seeing they were no where excepted. And the promise which God made unto the faithfull Fathers of old, as touching their children, of shewing mercie unto them, of calling a seed in them, standeth as fast now to the

faithfull and their children, as it did then, as the Lord hath spoken, saying, *For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third & fourth generation of them that hate me, And shewing mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments,* Exod. 20. This promise of shewing mercie unto thousands in them that love God, &c. having no limitation in respect of time or nation, stands sure at all times unto the faithfull and their children, of all nations.

And therefore it was that the Apostle Paul said, *The unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband, &c. else were your children unclean, but now they are holy,* he having respect unto the promise which God made to the children of the faithfull, of shewing mercie, of calling a seed in them, &c. and writes it down, to the end that all the faithfull fathers and mothers of children, should understand the same, and so account of their children, expecting and praying for them, that God would so have mercie on them, and call them; and know also that they have the same right unto all the outward priviledges of the Church of God, as the children of the faithfull had before.

The sixth Argument.

If little children, both male and female, were admitted as their right into the outward state of the Church in the time of the Law, they being the children of the circumcised: Then they may now, as their right, be admitted into the outward state of the Church in the time of the Gospel, they being the children of the baptized.

But it was so then in the time of the Law, Therefore it is to be so now in the time of the Gospel.

The seventh Argument.

If Christ did never take away any of the former priviledges, which the little children of the faithfull had in the time of the Law; Nor did ever himsele, nor any of his Apostles, forbid little children to be baptized, and so admitted into the outward state of the Church, whereinto they were rightly admitted formerly; Then no man may presume to doe it.

But Christ did never take away any of the former priviledges of the little children of the faithfull; neither did he himsele, nor any of his Apostles ever forbid little children to be baptized, and so admitted into the outward state of the Church now in this time of the Gospel: Therefore no man may dare to doe it.

Whosoever shall presume to doe this thing, seeing that neither
Christ

Christ nor any of his Apostles ever did it, sheweth himselfe to be a very bold presumptuous spirit, taking upon him above Christ and all his Apostles; and sinneth also greatly, having not faith in the action.

But T. L. and all other such like Anabaptist Church-builders have done, and doe so: Therefore they shew themselves to be of very bold presumptuous spirits, presuming above Christ and all his Apostles; and sin greatly also, not doing it of faith.

I ask T. L. and the rest of those Baptists, or Dippers, that will not be called Anabaptists (though they baptize some that have been twice baptized before) what rule they have by word or example in Scripture, for their going men and women together into the water and for their manner of dipping, and every circumstance and action they perform concerning the same. For if it be a matter of so great consequence, as without which there can be no true reformation from the Antichristian Church, to become a true Church of Christ, as you perswade the people. Then there is as great a necessity of a rule by word or example for the same, as there is for any thing. Therefore consider hereof, and see what answer ye can give.

Christ gave a rule unto his Disciples for prayer, and commanded saying, *When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, &c.* I ask the reason why you doe not when you pray, perform it, according to the words, seeing they are so plainly written down, and yet charge the other so as ye do upon the people, without either word or example?

Again, Christ performed a work in washing his Disciples feet, and commanded them that they should so wash one anothers feet, as he had given them example: What is the reason ye take not this work in hand to practise it, seeing the commandement, and every circumstance and action that Christ performed, is so plainly written down, *Joh. 13. 4, 5, 6, and so to verse 17.*

Is it because it makes not so wel for your planting new Churches, as the other, by your rejecting the outward baptisme little children had received, and your baptizing onely men and women of years (who must first professe that faith ye speak of) doth?

Or is it because ye are utterly ignorant what the work truly is, and therefore leave it quite, lest ye should not rightly follow Christ therein; but rather the Pope and his Church who have taken it up in a corrupt and superstitious way: Then by the same reason yee might as well have left the other also, and not have medled with it.

For let me ask you, Doe you know what true circumcision is, and so what true baptisme is? If ye think ye do, then see if ye can declare the true meaning of these Scriptures, *Mat. 28. 19. Mark 16. 15, 16. 1 Pet. 3. 21. Col. 2. 11, 12. Gal. 3. 27. Rom. 2. 29. Acts 2. 38. Acts 19. 5.* and tell us if there be not as great a necessity of the circumcision and baptisme in these places spoken of, as there is of the new birth, *John 3. 3. 5.* and that whosoever is so circumcised, or baptized, hath put on Christ, is regenerate, and shall be saved: and that it is not the cutting off the foreskin, nor the doing away the filth of the flesh, with outward washing or dipping the body in water, as they of Rome concluded from those Scriptures in their Councell at Trent, making the same washing or dipping, of necessity to salvation. But that it is the circumcision of the heart in the spirit, the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ, the baptisme wherein they are buried with Christ, and also are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead, as *Paul* saith, *Col. 2. 11, 12. Even the answer of a good conscience by the resurrection of Jesus Christ,* as *Peter* saith, *1 Pet. 3. 21.* And then (the places being so understood) it is clearly true, *That whosoever beleeveth and is baptized, shall be saved, as Christ, and Peter, and Paul have declared, which cannot be so concluded upon outward washing or dipping.*

These and all other such like gatherers of people together, builders and planters, which come so neere their strain, in framing and setting Churches to themselves in their independent way, under the pretence of casting off all the abominations of Antichrist, and practising according to the state of the Churches of the Apostles times; let them, and all other who in other kinds seem to endeavour a reformation, take heed and feare lest while they promise and assume great things to themselves, they misse the very thing, and goe clean beside the way of the true reformation which God will have to be in this last age.

For whosoever hath not in his heart the first principles of true repentance, and that faith in Christ which justifieth that repentant broken-hearted sinner from his sins, and the Comforter, the Spirit of truth, which leadeth into all truth, cannot understand those great mysteries of God, which he hath foretold in Scripture, shall now in this last age be fulfilled: And let noman take it in scorn therefore, that I thus speak unto him, it is mine owne case, I must also take heed and feare. And let us know howsoever (though we all should faile in
our

our understandings, and go awry from the intent of the Scriptures in these great matters) yet nevertheless the work of Reformation shall goe on, and every thing that the Scriptures have foretold, shall come to passe: Neither is the work of Reformation now to begin.

Christ foretelling of the abomination of desolation, and the great tribulation of Antichrist, that should come into the world, saith, *And except those dayes should be shortned, there should no flesh be saved, but for the elects sake they shall be shortned, Matth. 24. 22.*

This Scripture is, and hath been already, in the fulfilling at least these hundred yeares past, The Lord with the spirit of his mouth hath been consuming that man of sin all this while, according as the Apostle *Paul* foretold, *2 Thess. 2. 8.*

The two witnesses of God, whom that Beast which was to come out of the deep, should kill, when they had finished their testimony; that is, when the whole consell of God, which he would have manifested to the world, for the convincing of the ungodly, and saving his elect, should be by his holy Apostles and Evangelists testified and written down, and they translated to their place of rest, leaving the witnesses, the two Testaments of God perfected, and prophesying in their life and strength: Then the Beast being risen up, and placed in the Dragons Throne, makes warre against them, overcomes them, and kills them. Which killing was performed partly by his putting out and taking away the true intent and meaning of their word and testimony, which is their light and life, and giving false and lying interpretations of the same to the people, and suppressing those that testified and walked in the light and truth of them. And partly by keeping the letter of their word from the people, that so their testimony might not be read, understood, and laid up in their hearts, where they ought to be buried. These two witnesses who have lien thus slain so long in the streets of that spirituall *Sodom* unburied, are in their resurrection; the spirit of life from God is entred into them, and they are standing on their feet, and walking again, as was foretold, *Rev. 11.*

And so he, whose name is called, *The Word of God*, who hath on his head many crownes, and in his mouth a sharp sword, he is come forth on his white horse, and his heavenly armies following him on white horses, clothed in white and fine clean linnen, (who are the called of God, his chosen and faithfull servants, as hee saith, *Rev. 17. 14.*) He who in righteousness doth judge and make war, hath been with those his Armies fighting and prevailing all this while a-

gainst the Beast, and those Kings of the earth, and their Armies, (who gathered themselves together against him, and against his Armies, according as it was foretold, *Rev.* 19. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19.) and as at this day we see.

All these things have already thus farre passed and proceeded: otherwise that reformation which is and hath been within those yeares (of Kingdoms and Cities, and peoples revolt from the Beast and his Church (that mother of harlots and abominations of the earth) w^{ch} we have seen, read, and heard of; and which cost the lives of so many thousands that testified and maintained the truth of Gods two witnesses against them) had not been. But God for his Elect sake, that they might bee delivered from their abominations and cruelties, and know his truth, and be saved (as he had determined and foretold) would have it so. And so those dayes of their abomination and great tribulation, which by their power they forced, are thus, as in *England*, so in other kingdoms & parts, (where they had to doe) shortned, according to his word, and as good and comfortable experience hath proved unto us, for which we are greatly bound to give thanks unto God.

So that wheras some say, the two witnesses are not yet slain, & so not risen, and that the Beast must get up again, out of his consumption, and kill them; and then after 3 yeares (natural) and a halfe, they to rise again: conceiving that because these words, *Rev.* 11. 7. *And when they have finished their testimony, the Beast which ascendeth out of the bottomlesse pit, shall make warre against them, and kill them, &c.* are spoken after the description of their prophesying in Sackcloth a thousand two hundred and threescore days, w^{ch} is the time of the Beasts reigne, and will have the two witnesses to bee the Christian Magistracie and Ministry, or as some say, the two Testaments and the Ministry, or two speciall men, &c. In all which they are utterly deceived: for first, although these words, *And when they have finished their testimony, &c.* come after the description of their prophesying in sackcloth, yet have they not respect to a finishing of their prophesying in sackcloth: for their prophesying in sackcloth shal never be finished till all Gods elect are accomplisht; neither did they ever otherwise prophesie, but in sackcloth, that is, in mourning. All the Prophets and the Apostles, the witnesses of their word and testimony, both in speaking and writing, did it in mourning, in teares, suffering also alwayes with them, and being hated of the world for their word sake: So that the words in *ver.* 7.

of finishing their testimony, cannot have respect to their prophesying in sackcloth 1260 dayes, but must needs be understood of that finishing their testimony before spoken of.

And again, the Text saith not, The Beast that descendeth shall kill them, as if he were to kill them a little before his death; but *the beast that ascendeth, &c.* shewing plainly that he was to kill them at his rising, and not at his dying.

And the three dayes and a halfe of their bodies lying dead in the streets of the Beasts great citie, are the three propheticall years and a halfe of the beasts reigne, and not three naturall years and a halfe, as they of the Church of *Rome*, and some of our owne also would have it.

And whereas they are said to prophesie all the time in sackcloth, while their bodies lie dead, and unburied in the streets of *Sodom*, through their malice, yet they prophesie against them all the time notwithstanding, and the judgements of God, which they have spoken with their mouth against the Beast, and his Church, shall surely come upon them. Neither doe nor did their bodies lie dead and unburied in the Church of the Saints at any time, though they were never so few, or never so disperst into the desert or wilderness, they alwayes retained them alive and prophesying, but yet in sackcloth with much opposition.

And for any Magistrates, Ministers, Men or Angels, to be the two witnesses, or equal with them, is not possible, neither may such an opinion be admitted or thought of: for what creature, or creatures in heaven or earth, may or can be said to empty the golden oyle out of themselves into the golden Candlestick, which is the Church of God, whereof his true Ministers are part, but onely the two Testaments of God, those two Olive branches, and two speciall Candlesticks, being both one, which alwayes stood before the ruler of the whole earth, as well in the Prophet *Zacharies* time, and before it, as now since, who have the golden oyle in themselves naturally, as the Olive trees have their oyle, and doe hold forth their light to all the world, as in *Zach. 4. 11, 12, 13, 14.*

And who may be said to smite the earth with all maner of plagues so often as they will, but they? if they say the word, it is done. All that the holy Prophets and Apostles have spoken and written, was their word and testimony, not their own: Therefore the Lord calleth them his two Witnesses, *Rev. 11. 3. And I will give unto my two Witnesses, &c.* because they are his own word, according as the holy

Angel

Angel answered the Prophet *Zachariab*, when he desired to know what they were saying, *This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts. Who art thou, O thou great Mountain, &c. Zach. 4. 6, 7.* Neither may any Minister of God, Apostle, Prophet, or Angel, say or think, when he writeth or speaketh the things of God, that he writeth or speaketh his own words: Neither may any man in the name of the Lord speak his own words, but if he speak in his name, he ought alwayes to speak as the Oracles of God, as the Lord saith, *Therefore have I cut them down by my Prophets, and slain them with the words of my mouth.* So then, the two witnesses being the two Testaments of God, which are his two Candlestickes also, that carry in them the light of his truth, and power of his Spirit, which the Beast at his rising had killed, but are now come to life again, even the Spirit and life of Gods own word, whereby also he made the worlds, which name belongs onely to him who sitteth on the white horse, *The Lamb Iesus Christ, the Branch, the Stone* that hath the *seven Eyes*, which are the seven Spirits of God, sent out into all the world, spoken of in *Zach. 3. 8. 9. and 4. 10. Rev. 5. 6. Eventhat be a Stone, which Zerubbabel* was to bring forth; he that is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who hath the sharp sword in his mouth; He, as he hath prevailed thus farre against the Beast and his Armies, so he shall go on and prosper in his war, let the Beast and the Kings of the earth with their armies gather themselves together against him and his Armies, and doe what they can the Beast shall not recover out of his consumption, he must be taken, and with him the false prophet, his Clergy that wrought miracles before him, and both be cast alive into the lake of fire, burning with brimstone. And those Kings of the earth, and the rest of his armies, be slain with the sword of him that sits on the white horse, which comes out of his mouth, &c. as the Lord hath spoken, *Rev. 19.*

For who art thou, O thou great Mountain Babel, before him? Thou also shalt become a plain like all thy predecessors, and Monarchs before thee. The man whose name is the Branch, he hath laid the foundation of the house of God, and he shall finish it even to the full perfection.

And now as hitherto the Lord by his word of truth, the golden oyle of his two Olive trees, with which through his holy Spirit, he hath lighted his golden Candlestick in her seven Lamps, so that she can, and hath of late, held forth the same again in some measure,

to the world, whereby the abominations of Antichrist and his Church, hath been in part discovered from day to day, to this present. And as their glory decayeth, so accordingly shall the face of her, the Lords true Church, by degrees be seen more and more to shine in her true spirituall light and beautie, untill she come neereſt like unto the primitive ſtate that ſhe, in this laſt corrupt age of the world, can come to, which upon the full end and deſolation of the Beaſt and his Church, will be.

Then many things which now remaine even to ſome of Gods choſen ſervants, hid and obſcure (though foretold in Scripture) ſhall bee knowne, and underſtood. Then ſhall ſhee, the true Church, indeed, come clean forth of that wildeſſe of her ſecret reſting place, where ſhee had been ſed ſo long, and be farre more viſible then now ſhee is. She will not be divided into ſo many Sects as now are, of thoſe that falſly take on them her name, having ſo many ſeverall independent Leaders, as there are independent Sects; and as many Sects, as every one that will riſe to draw Diſciples after him, can (by ſpeaking perverſe things unto them) make. Nay, ſhe ſhall be as ſhe alwayes hath been in ſuch reſpects (and is) undivided, though diſperſt, holding faith and truth without conſuſion or diviſions, yet not without ſome perſecution and affliction, which as the Lord fore-told her, muſt bee a part of her portion in this world.

And although ſhe may, and ſhall, in reſpect of her ſeverall places of abode, be diſtinguiſhed by the names of the places, yet ſhall ſhe not be divided, nor any one part independent from the other, nor from the whole, no more then the parts & members of one body are; nor one part ſay or think of another, I have no need of thee, no more then the members of one body may.

Neither ſhall they bee free from all kind of dependencie on the Magiſtracie, or State where they are. But as they being in place of authoritie, are in duty bound to have ſpeciall care of the glory, worſhip and ſervice of God, and to ſee that he be not diſhonored by Idolatry, ſuperſtition, or any blaſphemous, erroneous, Antichriſtian doctrines, nor any kind

of abominations, or grosse wickednesses, lest they (by allowing or permitting the same upon knowledge) be found guilty of their sinne, and perish with them. And also to see that the Church, as well as the State, be ordered and so settled in a forme of government according to the word of God, and so protected and defended by them, that all the people may peaceably be taught in the wayes of truth and salvation. So the Church and Children of God are bound to submit, and bee obedient.

And although they are free and independent from men, in all spirituall things concerning God and their owne Consciences; not having in such respects any supreme Head, Ruler, or Teacher over them, but Christ their Lord, nor may (So) call any man on earth, Lord, because one is their Lord, nor any man Doctor, because one is their Doctor, even He, the Lord himselfe, who hath appointed no one in his stead, during the time of his personall absence, so to bee over his Church, but his holy Spirit onely, the Spirit of truth, the Comforter, which he hath sent, and is with his Church to the worlds end, to rule and governe it, to teach and guide her, and all her children in the wayes of truth, as being the great moderator of all his spirituall matters; yet are they not therefore free from all dependencie on the Magistracie, or State.

But if they shall fall in their duties before mentioned, and doe, and command things contrary, as hath been hitherto most commonly in all Kingdomes and States in the world: Then are the Children free, and not bound to obey, but rather to suffer unto death; they are to give unto *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*, and unto God the things that are Gods, as Christ hath commanded.

This Church, if ever it come so neere the primitive state, as is hoped upon good ground it will, shee will be so eminent in every part where she shall be, so severed and distinguished, that if one brother trespass against another, and will not bee reconciled, it may bee knowne where to goe and tell it to the Church, according to the Rule of Christ, *Matth. 18.* which Church if the trespasser shall refuse to heare, hee is then to be unto his brother in account as a Hea-then

then and a Publican: For of this Church and her children it was that Christ spake when he said, *Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* *Matth. 18.*

And therefore hee saith againe, *If two of you shall agree on earth* (he saith not any two in the outward state of the Church) But *Two of you*, meaning of his truly faithfull ones) as touching any thing that they shall ask, *it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.* For where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them. *Matth. 18.*

For although there are and will be many within the outward state and pale of the Church, that are not truly faithfull, that are not of her in respect of her inward (spirituall state of true Repentance, justifying Faith; power of the Spirit, Wisdome from above: Christ speaks not here unto them; nor of them; they, though they bee never so great in place and power externall, and wisdom naturall, have nothing to doe with these excellent treasures.

They have no part with the Spouse herselfe therein, it is to her and her children alone, that Christ hath promised, given, and will give those speciall peculiar graces, and those keyes of the Kingdome of heaven; that whatsoever they shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven, as he also declared; *Matth. 16. vers. 18, 19.* Neither is the Prince or Magistrate, having the same grace, exempted from these priviledges, because he is in place of authoritie; but rather the more to be honoured that way.

This Church, I say, shall now daily (in respect of her light of Faith and Truth, and other graces and gifts of the Spirit) increase, and by the word of Gods two Testaments, and power of his Spirit, wherewith hee hath, and will replenish her, shall not onely convince the Antichristian people, and wicked perishing World, of sinne, of righteousnesse, and of judgement; but also, and more especially, by the same Word of Truth, and power of his Spirit, bring forth and accomplish all her owne children, even the full number of Gods elect, the generation of his

first-borne, which within the very time of this present last age, will bee fully perfected; as the Prophet *Daniel* declareth, *Dan. 12. 11. 13.* according to the words of Christ, *Matth. 24. 29. Rev. 11. 14.*

For as the true estate of the primitive Church of Christ, lasted but a short time before the Dragon raised his great persecution against her and her Child, the first fruits where-with shee was then in travell to bee delivered, by which meanes shee was enforced to flie into the Wildernesse, and so the great light of her bright shining graces, shee being then clothed with the Sunne, and having the Moon under her feet, and on her head a Crowne of twelve Starres, (which made her so visible like a Citie set upon a Hill, that cannot bee hid; and as a Candle in a Candlestick, which giveth light to all that are in the house) was eclipsed, and hidden in obscuritie, in comparison of her first estate, as you may read and perceive, *Rev. 12.*

So now, after the desolation of Antichrist, which is now neere at hand, the time will bee as short wherein her light shall (in a measure) so shine againe; and shee shall travell to bring forth her last fruits unto God, and to the Lamb, before the Dragon, the Devill, Satan, who (in respect of his former practices, as *Revel. 12.* and before) hee hath been so long time bound) shall bee loosed again out of his prison, and goe unto the Kings of the earth, and of the whole World, to deceive the Nations that are in the foure quarters of the Earth, even *Gog* and *Magog*, and gather them together, and bring them downe, in number like the sand of the Sea, and compass the Camp of the Saints about, and the beloved Citie; and so (for a little season) greatly trouble her, even till fire shall come down from God out of heaven, and devoure them, as it is written, *Rev. 16. 14. Rev. 20. 7. 8. 9.* according to *Ezek. 38. 39.* chapters.

And then the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* will come in his glory, and all his holy Angels with him, and then he shall sit in the throne of his glory; and all the dead, both good and bad, shall bee raised, and with the living bee brought before him, and hee will separate the Sheep from the Goats, the Books shall

shall bee opened, and they shall bee judged every man according to his workes, as it is written, *Math.* 25. 31, 31, 32, 33, 34. &c. *John* 5. 28, 29. *Revel.* 20. 11, 12, 13, &c.

And so the judgement being passed, and the corrupt state of this world dissolved, there shall bee new heavens, and a new earth, and the holy Citie, new Jerusalem, the Bride, the Lambs wife, shall bee manifested from heaven in her perfect glory with all her children, according as it is often in Scripture foretold of her, *Esay* 49. 14, 15, &c. *Esay* 60. *Esay* 65. *Esay* 66. *Rev.* 21. and 22.

The wholehouse of Israel, all Gods elect and chosen people of all Nations and times, shall now bee perfectly and fully delivered from all their captivities and troubles, sorrowes, teares, graves, dust, and shall sorrow and weep no more, as the Lord hath promised, *Rev.* 21. 4. and sundry other places. And hee their Lord and King Christ Jesus, shall reigne over them in Mount Sion for ever and ever, world without end, as it is also written, *Esay* 9. 7. *Ezek.* 37. 34. 35. *Dan.* 2. 44. *Dan.* 7. 14. *Micb.* 4. 7. *Luke* 1. 33. *Rev.* 11. 15.

Rev. 22. 12, 13, 14, 15.

Behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his workes shall be. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

Blessed are they that doe his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the Citie: For without are Dogs, and Sorcerers, and Whoremongers, and Murderers, and Idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

F I N I S.

*Page 2. line the last save two Acts 5. 1, 2, 3. Acts 19. 14, 15, &c.
Page 6. line 7. Job. 6. 64, 65.*

This is licensed and entred according to Order.



Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE

SCOTISH DOVE.

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and
makes some Relations of other observable Passages
of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 24. of May, to Fryday the 31. of the same.

TOtell you of the Ordinance for the re-establishment of the Committee of both Kingdoms, (I conceive is no newes) that there is no addition nor detraction in persons, their power of larger extent, &c. during the pleasure of both Houses, &c. But I cannot omit to mention it, it being carried along by a

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more then ordinary Providence, and past in the nick of time, which had so long held debate, and as it is a great mercy from God, I desire God may be seene in it, and have the praise due to him: the benefit whereof will I trust in short time redoun to the Kingdome.

From the Earle of *Warwicke* It is certified that *Lyme* is releevd with Ammunition, and victuall, and by a great Providence preserved from the rage of the Enemy; the Town being still besieged by the Land Souldiers, who are neer the Town, continually anoyding them: some of the Enemies ships came in upon them unexpected, and did them some prejudice, but the Earle of *Warvvick* seasonably and sweetly sent some ships to their rescue, amongst which the *May flower* a lusty ship came first in, whose very appearance without much debate, put the Enemie to shift & speed, so that at this time we doubt not by Gods blessing but *Lyme* is in good condition, more likely to make the land Enemy stand off, then they to come nearer, we leave the event to God.

We are certified that Sir *John Meldrum* that gallant gentleman hath taken the Fort of *Ayre-mouth* with nine peeces of Ordnance, and good store of other Ammunition and Armes, it was a very strong Fort, very prejudiciall to our friends, and will be great advantage by the taking of it; for now there is free passage from *Hull* up the river a long way.

The 4000. Horse of which we have formerly spoken, that have like Locusts over-spread *Leicester-shire*, are now gone to *Burton* upon *Trent*, and from thence into *Derby-shire*. They have plundered the whole County of *Leicester*, of Money, Goods, Cattle, &c. and not onely so, but abused the Inhabitants both men and women in most barbarous manner: reports are of *Ruperts* advance that way, and that he is joyned with them, but I dare not affirme that he is as yet so far, for the West calls for his ayde as loud as the North, and he is not ubiquitory, if he help one, he must lose the other; but indeede it is hereditary to him to lose Kingdomes, much more Counties, the best is, he hath none to lose of his owne.

His Excellency the Earle of *Essex* on Saturday last was about *Blewbury* heath, and Sir *William Waller* not far distant from him; The Kings Army was then at *Wantage*, three miles from him, towards which his Excellencie marched, but they wheeled about having better minde to walke than to fight: On the next morning his Excellencie marched towards *Abington*, but wheel'd towards
Walling-

Wallingford to Slade end about half a mile from the Towne, where he saluted that Garrison with some cannon shot as he passed by, and sent out a Brigade of Horse and Foote under the command of the Lord Roberts to Abington, where a great part of the Enemy were, but at his approach they retreated, quit the Town, and fled to Oxford, and that night his Excellencie himself quartered in the Town of Abington. His Excellency finding the Country extreame-ly pillaged and impoverished, caused Proclamation to be made in his Army, and Country as followeth:

VV Hereas these Countreies have been very much afflicted and oppressed by the Enemy, and we are now come to relieve them of their hard bondage; It is therefore my expresse will and pleasure, and I do hereby straightly charge and Command, all Officers and Souldiers, of Horse, Foot, and Dragoones, belonging to the Army under my Command, that they and every of them, do forthwith after Proclamation hereof made, forbear notwithstanding any pretence what-soever, to plunder, or spoile, any of the goods of the Inhabitants of these Countreies, or offer any violence or other prejudice unto them, upon paine of death without mercy. Given under my hand and Seale, 26. of May. 1644.

ESSEX.

This was a better and more Just Proclamation, then that which came to them from Oxford, commanding all their corne and victuall, upon paine of fire and sword: and better accepted to the people then the Edict from Oxford then in execution; viz. That in all those Countries all his Majesties Souldiers should have free quarter for Horse and man; so that the Inhabitants are eaten up by oppression, and made bondmen by force. The Insolencies there committed by the dam-mee crew is incredible, and the relation of them fearefull, not onely in their desperate out-rage in plundering all, but in all inhumane abuses to the better sort of men and women, beating, wounding, and killing; ravishing of women and maids; and destroying what they could not carry away; saying with audacious boldnesse, they would do what other mischiefe they could, because they had but a short time to raigne.

The King and both his Armies under the command of Forth and Hopson (as was certified on Tuesday by a letter from his Excellency) are gone to Woodstocke; and are all quartered thereabouts: the Earle of Essex and Sir William Waller are in pursuite of them. There is

onely three Regiments left in *Oxford*, and they are likely to be learnedly disciplin'd, and with great judgement; one Regiment is of Schollers, a second of Townsmen, the third of refuse souldiers; and for the honour of the cause, there are new Captaines made to command them (viz.) *Cottington*, *Littleton*, *Banckes*, and *Heath*, all learned, and zealous in the cause; *They must take Armes; or be hang'd*, (*that's their feare.*) *They may take Armes and be hang'd*, (*that's my prediction.*)

But surely the common souldiers have wit beaten into them, and they begin to be wiser then their Commanders, who to avoyd those evils (for they see nothing but evils in that war) run away; besides some thousands that ran from their great Army at *Causham*, his Majesty hath lost one thousand of his men in the March between *Abington* and *Woodstocke*. Also there was a Partee of about three thousand Horse and Foote, which marcht on the way towards *Worcester*, with much Artillery and many Whiggon, who were met about *Ipsip* by a Partee of Horse sent from *Newport-pawell*, under the command of Captaine *Temple*, who with resolution and valour fell upon their Quarters of *Ipsip*, and tooke about sixty Horse; also he tooke severall packes of *Kersies*, and 150. l. in money, which gave an Alarme to the whole Army; and stricke them in such feare that the souldiers cryed out *Essex*, *Essex* is come, thinking his Excellency had been come about and surpris'd them; so dreadfull is the name of *Essex* to the guilty Cavaliers; *the wicked fly when none pursueth them*. This Captaine *Temple* was sent out onely to discover the enemy, not to fight; but the gallant Gentleman having such an occasion, and an opportunity put in hand, could not but act, his discretion is not to be commanded, but his resolute valour is worthy honour; 'tis better to get a victory indiscreetly, than to lose an opportunity cowardly.

The Kings drawing toward *Worcester* shewes that he intends to make towards Prince *Rupert*, and thence I conclude that *Rupert* is preparing to come to him, and joyne both Armies together; But *Rupert's* shewisse shewes feare or weakenesse, I cannot thinke he gets men out of *Wales* or *Shropshire* much faster then the King will lose them in *Oxfordshire*; in a short time you shall heare more.

There are divers Propositions presented to the King by the *Irish* Rebels, or his Majesties subjects, the Roman Catholickes, which if the King will scale too, they promise forthwith to assist him. Their Propositions are in number 14.

1. That all Acts made against the Professors of the Roman Catholick Faith may be repealed, and they to be allowed the freedom of their Religion. 2. That his Majesty shall call a free Parliament in that Kingdome, &c. 3. That all Acts made since the seventh of August 1641. be annulled and declared voyd, &c. 4. That all Indistinctures, Attainders, Outlawries, &c. since the seventh of August, and all Letters Patents, Grants, Bonds, Recognizances, &c. be taken off the File. 5. That all Debts owing, or due to the Protestants shall be released, &c. 6. That all Offices, and old Titles found since the yeare 1634. to intitle his Majesty unto severall Counties, may be taken off, and the Possessors settled and secured in their ancient Estates, by act of Parliament, &c. 7. That all Markes of incapacity imposed upon the Natives of that Kingdome, to purchase or acquire Lands, be taken away by Act of Parliament, &c. 8. That the Offices of places of command, honour, profits, and trust within that Kingdome, be conferred upon the Roman Catholicks and natives, &c. 9. That the Court of Wards in that Kingdome be taken away, &c. 10. That no Lord nor esated in that Kingdome, or esated and not resident shall have Vote in their Parliament by prozie or otherwise, and none admitted to the House of Commons, but such as are esated and reside in the Kingdome. 11. That an Act be passed the next Parliament, declaring that the Parliament of Ireland be the Parliament of it selfe, independent of, and not subordinate to the Parliament of England, and the subjects mediately subjects to his Majesty, &c. 12. That the assumed Power or Iurisdiction in the Counsell board of determining Causes, be limited to matters of State, &c. 13. That the Statutes of the 11. 12. and 13th. yeares of Queen Elizabeth, concerning all Staple Commodities be repealed, &c. 14. That as the long continuance of the chiefe Governour, or Governours of that Kingdome, in that place of so great Power, hath bene a principall cause of much tyranny, and oppression, therfore that it may be questioned in their Parliament, &c.

Then they acknowledge, that whereas now his Majesty of benigne Favour, and Grace, hath laid open their grievances, which were heretofore debarred, that they his Majesties subjects, are ready to contribute ten thousand men towards the suppression of the unnaturall Rebellion now in England, and will farther expose their lives, and fortunes to serve his Majesty, as occasion should require.

Now let all the World judge if these men come into England to settle the Protestant Religion here, that would destroy it in Ireland for ever; or whether, if the Armies raised against this Parliament will

will not establish Popery by Act of Parliament as they doe there; and make our Posterities inacted slaves. And let the World judge whether this were not intended by some before the Coronation of his Majestie; by that which on Monday last was brought in charge against the *Arch-bishop*, and proved under his own hand writings: that when he gave the King his Oath, he minced some things in the Oath, and somethings omitted, adding other words; as whereas the Oath is to maintaine the Priviledge of the Subject, he put in (*as far as may stand with his Prerogative*) if that Bishop be not hanged I think he hath great wrong done him, but these things I leave to be related by the Diurnall.

The English of Ireland that are Commissioners at *Oxford* for the Protestants in Ireland, in opposall to the Irish Rebels Propositions, have taken so much courage, as to present Propositions to his Majesty in the Protestants behalfe, viz.

1. That the Protestant Religion may be established in that Kingdome, and the Lawes executed against Papists.
2. That Priests and Jesuites may be banished out of that Kingdome.
3. That no man may be a Magistrate, or in any Office of trust, that is a Papist.
4. That no Lawyer may have Liberty to plead that is a Papist.
5. That all the Rebels may be disarmed.
6. That all Rebels may make satisfaction to the Protestants for their dammage sustained by them.
7. That the rest of their Estates may go to the King.
8. That exemplary punishment may be inflicted upon them, for the Honour of his Majestie.
9. That no Act of Oblivion may passe to those Rebels.
10. That all Forts and Castles may be put into the hands of Protestants.

Whether the Propositions offered by the Rebels, or these presented in the behalf of the Protestants, will be best accepted we may Imagine; I shall be very unwilling to make Relation of any untruth, But if the Intelligence I have be true, the Rebels have a grant of their Propositions under the great Seale, but I will not affirme it to be true, though I feare it be too true, I would not slander the Devil; we shall heare more shortly.

From *Warwicke* I have Intelligence, that the Earle of *Denbigh* hath greatly increased his Forces in *Staffordshire*, and goes on with much honour in the businesse, winning the love and affections of the Countries, which is a presage of good to those Counties; for where love and concord is, there is a blessing attending. Colonell *Purfe* with his Horse that went to *Glocester*, with the last of that Ammunition,

nition, about 5. or 6. weekes since, is not yet returned into *Warwickshire*, but remaines with Colonell *Massey*.

That ever honoured valiant Gentleman Colonell *Massey* (as this present Thursday I am informed) hath taken the Castle of *Beverston* on Fryday the 24. of *May*, which is about 12. miles from *Glocester*; to which Castle Sir *Ralph Hopton* lately sent 800. Armes, and on Saturday he took *Malmesbury*, a strong and considerable Garrison, as any the King had in those parts; in these two Garrisons he tooke many Prisoners, Ordinance, Armes, and all Ammunition; these Garrisons lye in the way betweene *Bristell* and *Oxford*, and will spoyle the commerce from one place to the other.

I met with a messenger this day that verbally makes relation that *Prince Rupert* is march Northward, and is in some straight, having the Earle of *Manchester* before him; and part of that Army on the one side of him, and 8000. *Manchesterians* on the other side, if it hold a confirmation I shall think it good newes, and beleieve *Rupert* is in more danger of losing himself then in losing any of his Countreies or free-holds; and then *Maurice* if he be able to understand, will think it time to leave the siege at *Lyme*, and assist the maine Armies.

From the North we have Intelligence, that the Siege of *Tork* is in the same posture it was, as our last week made relation: mercy in the Lord Generall *Lesly* prolongs their time, but if they will be obstinate, and have victuall to hold out longer then patience will beare, he will storme the Town which he is not willing to do, except necessity compell. There have been some mutinies in the City, and there are great heart-burnings and divisions: God can set ambushes against his Enemies, and make *Ammon* to fight against *Moab*, and *Moab* against *Mount-Seir*, and all one against another to work their own ruin, and we shall know that God is the Lord of Hosts; rather looke for such a deliverance than to our great Armies. I blesse God for our strength in Armies, and Ammunition, but these must not Eclipse Gods own Work, the more we look upon them the further we are from deliverance.

Furthermore, we have certainty that upon report of the great plunder and spoyle which the Enemies Horse made in *Leicestershire*, the Lord Generall *Lesly*, and the Lord *Fairefax*, sent Sir *Iohn Meldrum* with a Regiment of Scottish Horse, and a Regiment of the *L. Fairefax's* Horse, to assist Generall Major *Lesley*, (who as our Dove told you last week) went out before with 2000. Horse, and 500. Dragoons. Also,

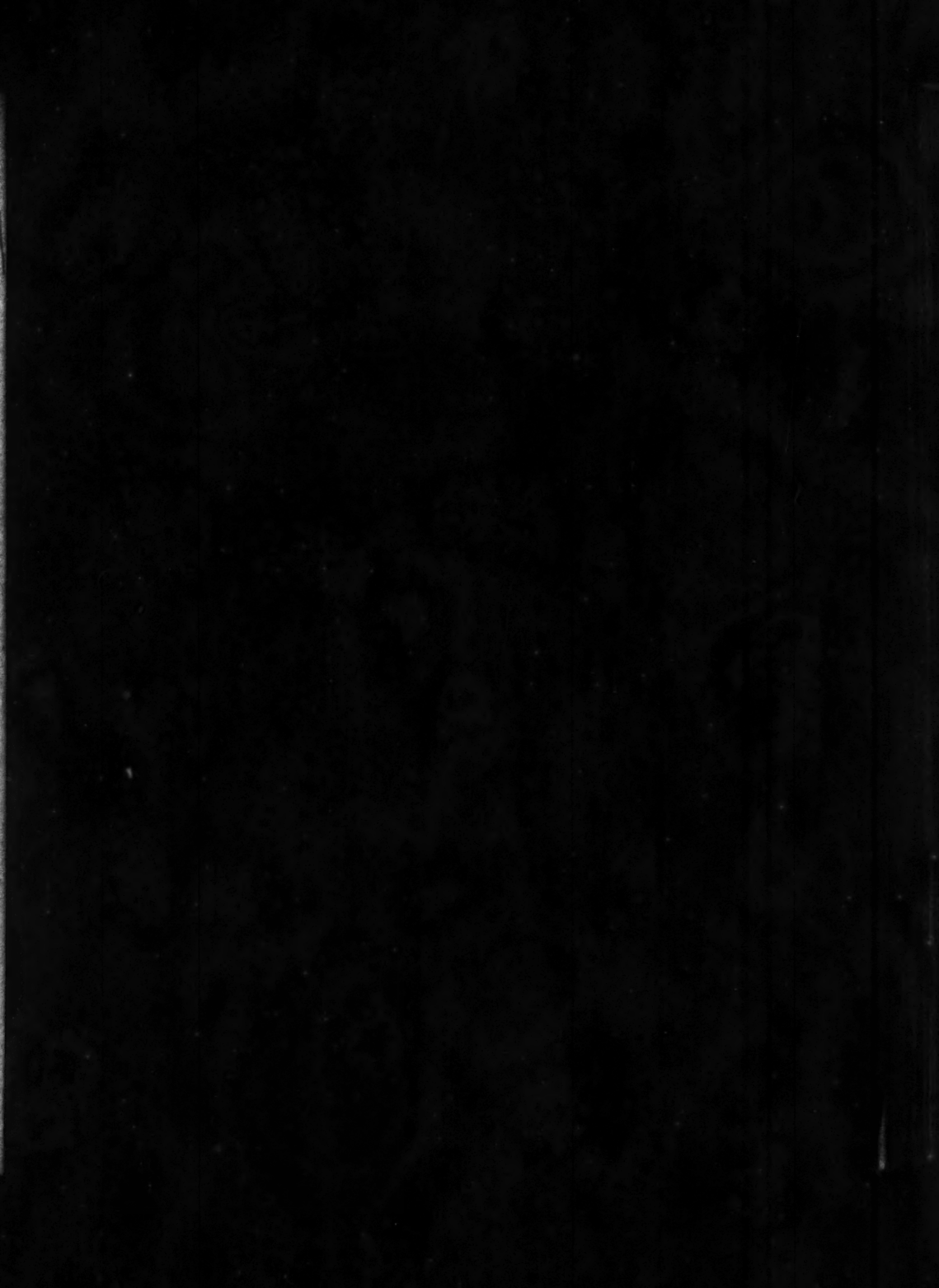
Also we have assurance that the E. of *Manchester*, with his whole Army is marcht against Prince *Papert*, who will without question fall on him wheresoever he meet him, if he wave the North and go Westward, against his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*, the E. of *Manchester* will follow, and fall on his reare. We are for certain certified, that the E. of *Manchester* (with the *Scotch*, and L. *Fairfax* horse) make a booby at least of 8000. horse, their foot are no lesse in number. And further we are certified, that the E. of *Eglinton* with a Partee of horse (about 100 horse) went towards *Helmensley-Castle*, where were some forces of the enemy, and that his Lordship was very neare, (where their horse quartered) before the enemy had any notice of his coming; and took of their horse about 60. and a Sandard with this Motto, *Rex, Lex, Gex*, they killed of the enemy six, and the rest fled into the Castle. We have also a second and sure confirmation of the taking of the strong Fort at *Aire-mouth* by sir *I. Meldrum*, the 21th. day they parlyed, and the 22th. day of this instant it was delivered; and they have since demolished it, after they had refurbishd themselves with what was there; it was the strongest Fort in all those parts.

Sir Robert Pye beat up a quarter of the Kings horse within 3. or 4. miles of Oxford, and took two whole Troops; it is said the King is come back into Oxford, but that is not certain, if he be, his Army is not; the Lord Generall will resolve the doubt shortly.

For *Aulicus* I have little to say, I see he hath every week grown dull, as his Victories have growne rare; grieve hath made a broach upon his wir, and his Braines are sack't with ayle, the poore Fox is in a great strait, he cannot dye, nor he must not live; he lyes dispairing, but 'tis very grossly, and his puple, (or new Iourny-man) who writ his last weekes *Mercurius*, lyes so unhand somely that I was ashamed to see him; *Britanicus* will tell him his faults, and I'll prepare an Epitaph for his Tutor.

*Mercurius Aulicus, at Oxford Ly'd,
Who in defence of Kingdomes Treasons dy'd
A Wretched Vermine; now he's going away,
I know not whither; 'tseemes he cannot stay.
He goes in hast, post hast, some place to find,
The rest must follow that he leaves behind.
His Epitaph I shal the Muses crave,
And that my Dove shall fixe upon his Grave:
Here lyes the man, though living, he is dead,
A spawne of Orion, named Birkinhead.*

Printed according to Order for L. C.



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ENGLANDS

REMEMBRANCER, 4

OR

A WARNING FROM HEAVEN:

Setting forth the two Iudgements of God
now upon the Land,

viz. { Sword
and
Plague.

VWith an admonition by a well-willer to
his Countrey, for prevention of the third
Iudgement threatned, which is
Famine.

Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soule depart from thee: lest I make thee desolate, a land not inhabited. Jer. 6. 8.

He that abideth in the City, shall die by the Sword, and by the Famine, and by the Pestilence, &c. For I have set my face against this City for evil, and not for good, saith the Lord. Jer. 21. 9, 10.

Entred according to Order.

June 21st LONDON,

Printed by Thomas Paine, for Francis Eglesfield,
Anno Dom. 1644

ENGLAND MEMORIAL

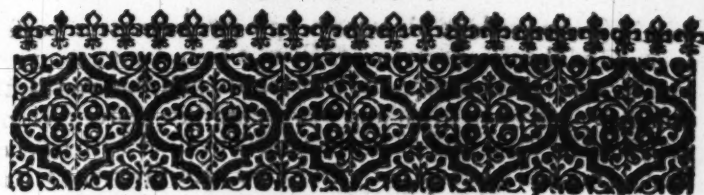
W. A. ...
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With an introduction by a well-known
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Printed according to Order.

LONDON
Printed by Thomas Paine, for Francis Eggleston,
Aino Dm: 1644



ENGLANDS REMEMBRANCER.



WE in *England, Scotland, and Ireland,* have beene like the people of *Laisb,* Judg. 18. secure and carelesse. Like the old world in the time of *Noah,* and like the men of *Sodom* in the daies of *Lot,* Luke 17. 27. Eating and drinking, and saying, *We shall have peace though we walke in the imaginations of our evill hearts,* Deut. 29.

19. We would not hearken to the voyce of our God, and *Israel* would none of him, therefore may hee now justly give us up unto our owne hearts lust: he hath called, but we have refused; he hath stretched out his hand, but no man regarded; we have set at naught all his counsells, and would none of his reproofe; therefore may he now laugh at our calamity, and mock when our feare commeth, when it commeth as desolation, and destruction as a whirlwind, that all men may see and say, that the turning away of the simple hath slaine them, and the prosperity of fooles hath destroyed them. God hath given to this Nation of ours many a faire warning, as loath to smite, till needes hee must; hee hath sent his Ministers early and late to thunder in our eares, yet except we repent, we shall all likewise perish. God hath set our Neighbours house on fire as a beacon to give us warning; I meane the Judgements that have befallen our brethren beyond the Seas, and hath made the Re-

bells in *Ireland* rods to his owne people ; we have beene worke
 to our God then *Joab* was to *Abfalom*, 2 Sam. 14. 29, 30, 31.
 for *Abfalom* sent but twice, and *Joab* refused him, but God hath
 sent many and often to us, and wee would not heare. When
Abfalom set *Joabs* field on fire he came, but God hath set our
 field on fire, and we come not. Our God hath given *Jacob* for
 a spoile, and *Israel* to the robbers, because wee have sinned a-
 gainst him, for we would not walke in his waies, neither were
 obedient to his law, *Isa.* 42. 24. therefore he powred upon us
 the fury of his anger, and the strength of battell, he hath set us
 on fire round about, yet wee know it not, & it burneth still, but
 we lay it not to heart; the sword of Almighty God devoureth
 flesh, and drinks our blood, yet neither mercies nor judgements
 move us: Still *Ephraim* eats the arme of *Manasseh*, & *Manasseh*
Ephraim. The Kingdom is like a mad man distracted, that saves
 the cruell enemy a labour, and with his owne bloody hands
 pulls as it were the haire from the head, the skinne from the
 flesh, the flesh from the bones, the bowells from the bellie, the
 heart from the brest, and teares & rends all in peeces, yet scarce
 ever sighes or weeps or groanes for all, but twells, & sweares,
 and laughes, and rages, and rores to death: God hath formerly
 sent many small judgements before as forerunners of this great
 judgement which now is come as little gunshots before the
 great murdering peece. It hath beene told us before, that if
 we repented not, God would doe such a thing in England, that
 whosoever should heare thereof both his eares should tingle;
 thus the cockes crowed before the storme, after many grievous
 diseases, and plagues he hath sent the sword & he can make our
 streets swim with the blood of us all, and both with and after
 sword send famine as hee hath threatned, *Levit.* 26. I will
 yet punish them seven times more, and if that will not doe it,
 seven times more; The Lord will not cease to smite so long
 as we cease not to sinne. Consider *Jerusalem* in the whole book
 of the *Lamentations*, and consider *Germany*, they were Gods
 people as well as wee, yet had they their little ones dashed a-
 gainst the stones, and their women ravished, and abominable
 Idolatrie set up, and all turned topsie turvie, upside downe.
 We have had the cleare light of the Gospel many yeares, wee
 have

have had many deliverances, especially those of the Gunpowder Treason, and Eighty eight; we have had more peace, plenty, and prosperity then any Nation, yet wee have loved darkness rather then light, we have trampled Christs blood under foote in the contempt of the Gospel, and with bloody oathes and prophanation of his Sabbaths, with cursed Idolatry, riotous drunkennes and Atheisme, Adultery, Bribery, Oppression, Vsurie, Simony, Fraude, Hypocrisie, Pride, Idlenesse, many will have a shew of godlynesse, but deny the power of it, many lukewarme Christians, shall not God visite for these things? *Isa. 1. 2, 3.*

I take no delight to upbraid mine own Nation, or to defile mine own nest; I cannot hold my tongue for Sions sake: let me perish if I see my Country perish, and give them not warning. Wherefore I beseech yee my deare brethren (all true hearted *Englishmen*) in the bowells of Christ Jesus, who died for us, and shed his owne heart blood for us, as you regard your owne soules, bodies, and estates; as yee wish and desire the peace and prosperity of this our *Sion*, dally with the Lord no longer, God will not be alwayes mocked, turne now at the last unto the Lord with al your hearts; *turne yee, oh turne yee, why will yee die? Seek the Lord whilest he may be found, call upon him whilest he is neere; draw neere to God and he will draw neere to you.* Oh that I could even weepe over this Land, as our Saviour did over *Jerusalem*, and say: O *England, England*, thou that rejectest my Prophets, and despisest those that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thee together, as a henne gathereth her chickens under her wings, and yee would not; wherefore thy house shall be left unto thee desolate: oh that thou wert therefore now wise yet in this thy day to consider those things that belong unto thy peace, lest at length they be hid from thine eyes. Woe to thee O *England*, if the great workes which have been done in thee, had beene done in *Tyre* and *Sidon*, in *Sodome* and *Gomorrhah*, they had repented in sackcloth and ashes long ere this: And thou *London, London*, which art lifted up to heaven, for abundance of spirituall meanes, shalt be brought as low as hell, except thou repent: wherefore I beseech yee againe and againe for Christ his

Luke 13. 34.

Mat. 11. 21.

Zeph. 2. 1.

Dan. 9. 19.

Jerem. 13. 27.

Isay. 64. 8.

this sake, for the Gospels sake, for your Countreys sake, for your owne soules sake be entreated; Repent, repent; Search, even search your selves *O nation not worthy to be beloved, before the decree come forth, and ye be wretched what passeth on in dayes* looke into your lives, consider your wayes, goe apart, and seriously aske your soules; What have we done? Let your mirth be turned into mourning, your feasting into fasting, weepe and lament bitterly for your sinns, try mightily for mercy, even as for life and death; *cease to doe evil, learne to doe well; wash you, make you cleane, put away your sinnes from before God his eyes; rent your hearts and not your garments, abound and change your wayes, bring forth fruits meete for repentance:* that so yee may get the sword againe into his sheath, which is already drawn out, and will give every one of us our death wound, except we repent; and may quench that wrath which is already kindled, and will burne hotter and hotter, and never cease untill it have utterly consumed us, if in time we quench it not by the teares of true repentance: wherefore *now prepare to meet thy God, O England;* It is more then high time to repent, deferre no longer, if the last blow be once stricken, that is, cutt downe, even utter desolation; there will then bee left no place for repentance. Oh that I could therefore perswade you; but it is not I, it is the Lord that must doe it; *now Lord doe thou perswade Japheth;* for we cannot: *Turne thou us unto thee O Lord of hosts, make thy face to shine, and we shall be saved; convert us unto thee, and we shall be converted, renew our dayes as of old; Lord thou longest for our conversion; thou standest waiting & crying; Wash thine heart, O England, wilt thou not be made cleane? oh when will it once be? Lord cleanse thou us, and we shall be cleansed; wash thou us, and we shall bee whiter then snow; cause us to come unto thee, why hast thou hardened our hearts from thy feare? O Lord thou art our Father, we are thy clay; thou art the Potter, wee are the worke of thine hands; oh destroy not the worke of thine owne hands; frame and fashion us, and make us such as thou wouldest have us to be: spare thy people, O God, spare thy people, and bee jealous for thine inheritance, why shall the people say, where is their God? O Lord heare, O Lord consider, and doe it, deferre not*
for

for thy names sake, for thy Christ his sake, pittie the desolations of thy *Sion*, of the Citie where thy name is called upon? Wilt thou O Lord, forsake for ever? *Why is thy wrath thus hot against the sheepe of thy pasture?* Our sins indeed testifie against us, that we are a rebellious and stiffnecked people, we lye downe in our shame; and confusion covereth us; thou art righteous and *just when thou judgest*; but we are a perverse and froward generation; we would not heare when thou calledst, but stopped our eares; like the deafe Adder, therefore thou maist now justly laugh at our destruction, and mocke when our feare commeth: but there is mercy with thee that thou maist be feared, we beseech thee in wrath remember mercy, have mercy upon us according to the multitude of thy compassions, oh Lord save us; or else we perish. *Comfort us according to the dayes that thou hast afflicted us: Returne O Lord, how long?* and be pacified towards thy servants. Continue still to bee our God, and let us be thy people; remove thy judgements which lye heavie upon us, and destroy us not utterly for thy names sake: Make us al to turne to thee from the highest to the lowest by speedie and unfeigned repentance, that so thou maist not utterly cut us off, *even head and tails, roots and branch, in one day*; but maist still delight to doe us good, to multiply thy blessings upon us; and make us as worthy to be beloved in and through thy Sonne Christ Jesus, that Sonne of thy love, as we have beene for our long peace and prosperitie of all the Nations of the earth admitted: even so be it Lord, so be it.

This is the first and generall Remedy which a Nation must use for the removall and preventing not onely of the Plague, but of any other judgement whatsoever; namely, true repentance, which stands in sorrow for sin, and reformation of life. *If yee consent and obey, yee shall ease the good fruits of the Land; but if yee refuse and be rebellious, yee shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.* Now if to be I cannot prevaile with the whole Land; then I turne to you that feare the Lord: I hope to have audience in your eares. If yee cannot prevaile for others, yet make sure of your owne soules; learne to hide your selves, to build an Arke for the safetie of you and yours. But yee will say, how may that be done? I answer.

We must separate from the sinnes of a land, if we would not

Pro. 1. 26. 27.

2 Chron. 7.

13. 14.

Jerem. 18. 7. 8.

Isa. 1. 19. 20.

Jere. 14. 11.

12.

not be partakers of their plagues. *Deut.* 4. 3. 4. *Zeph.* 2. 2. The more wicked the times grow, the more holy we should grow, like bright orient stars the deeper they goe in the dark night the brighter they shine, like the light of *Goshen* in the darkenetle of *Agypt*, like *Upright Lot* in wicked *Sodom*, like righteous *Noe* in a bad world.

We must mourne for the finnes of the times, *Ezek.* 9. 4. and for our owne finnes, and we must trust to God for safety. *Nabum.* 1. 7. *Psal.* 33. 18. 19. *Psal.* 91. 1. *Pro.* 18. 10.

Lastly Let us betake our selves to prayer: *Pray, pray, pray* therefore, cry and say: O Lord we know not what to doe, only our eyes are up towards thee; what shall we say unto thee O thou preserver of men? we are even ashamed and confounded to lift up our eyes to heaven; wee have sinned exceedingly, wee, our Rulers and Governors. Prince, and people; we have all sinned, our finnes are gone up as an heavy load, too heavy for us to beate; heaven and earth even groane under the burthen of them, they cry mightily for vengeance, but heare the groanes of thy servants, let their cryes be lowder in thine eares; heare the pleadings and intercessions of thine own Sonne for us; his blood cryes louder for mercy, then our finnes can doe for judgement, had it not been for that, we had all long agoe perished; and been utterly consumed. O thou the hope of *Israel*, the Saviour thereof in the time of trouble, why art thou as a stranger in the land, as one that passeth by so tarry for a night? why art thou as a man astonied, as a strong man that cannot helpe? Tet thou O Lord art in the midst of us, thy name is called upon us; forsake us not. Hast thou utterly reiected *Judah*? Hast thy soule abhorred *Sion*? Why hast thou smitten us, that we cannot be healed? We looked for peace, and behold no good; for health, and behold trouble: we acknowledge O Lord, our wickednesse, and the wickednesse of our fathers, we have all sinned: doe not abhorre us for thy names sake; cast not downe the throne of thy Glory; remember and breake not thy covenant with us; we have no helpe but of thee, thou art our God; therefore save us; oh be favourable unto thy *Sion*, build thou the Wall of *Jerusalem*: so shall we praise thy name for ever, and teach all ages to keepe praises for thee in story. Oh give salvation to thy people out of *Sion*; when thou shalt restore againe the captivity of thy people, then shall *Jacob* rejoyce and *Israel* shall be glad.

Ier. 14. 8, 9.

Psal. 51. 18.

Psal. 53. 6.

FINIS



epb. 2. 3.
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W. C.

*His Majesty at Oxford returned.
His Excellency to ship advanced.
Russell Hall in Staffordshire surrendered.
Letters from Col. Henley before Lyme intercepted.
Good news from York daily expected.
The relief of Lyme not to be neglected.*

Numb. 33.

The true Informer:

*X. 00
London*

Continuing a Collection of the most Spec-
ciall and Observable

P A S S A G E S,

Which have been informed from severall Parts

of His Majesty's Dominions.

From Sunday May 25. to Saturday June 1. 1644.



IN the last weeks intelligence save one, I did by way of Instruction set down the true characters of hypocrites and time-servers, give me now leave in a word or two, before I come to the Intelligence, to speak something, by way of encouragement, unto those, whose hearts are sincerely and really adhering unto the Cause of Religion, Lawes, and Liberty, now defended by the Parliament, and opposed by a Popish, Delinquent, and Malignant Party; and I shall speak principally unto those who have as yet been preserved from the cruelty of the Cavaliers.

Consider, that God hath deserved it at your hands, that you should stand for him. He hath appeared for you, when none could: he hath defended you from the enemy beyond expectation, and hath prevented all the plots and designs of the enemy for your destruction.

on. He hath heaped upon many of you, honour, wealth, and friends, and you can give no other reason why you are not more miserable then many of your brethren in the West, and other parts of the Kingdome, but onely this, That God hath been on your side, and that were a pillar of fire about you: doth he not then deserve to be owned? They say, *Love is loves loadstone, and loves whetstone.*

2 Gods cause, his Church, and children, have few friends, and many enemies, and those enemies no meane ones, but Principalities, and Powers, cruell, cunning, malicious, and unweareable, and more now then ever: what is there that English, or Irish Papists, the French or Spanish Faction, the Pope or Prelate can doe, that is not attempted against the people of God in England? What discipline is there with those most barbarous and inhumane Rebels that ever were in the world, by passing Acts of oblivion upon the blood of above 100000. Protestants, which themselves confesse to have slain; and yet this done by those who pretend to be the greatest assertion and maintainers of the Protestant Religion: surely Satan knows his time is short, he fits up all his instruments, as if one spirit posselt them all. And is it not a shame that the Lords friends should be more backward to his Cause, then the vassals of Satan are in their Masters?

3 The Lord, to punish the pride, sloth, hypocrisie and formality of his people, hath suffered the enemies of the Church to prevail exceeding farre (though of late he hath prospered our arme of both beyond expectation.) The face of Christendome, and all that work at this day, so miserably rent with warres, sects, heresies, and Schismes, is a most ruefull spectacle. Who can see such a Germany, or bleeding Ireland, and his heart not bleed, and be compelled to weep over the book of Lamentations againe? What settled quiet, may rather, what miseries and calamities must we expect, both in England, and most of the other parts of Christendome, till the Beast his Kingdome be ruined? Now we know that the Lord accounts that the most seasonable time for his friends to own his Cause, when his enemies are most against it: then God saith, Who is on my side, who? When the pressures of the Church are greatest, the opportunities of appearing for the Lord are most seasonable, and great are their rewards who then stick to him. Every one would gladly embrace a glorified Christ: but when the whole Councell shall reject him, then, with *Nicodemus*, to plead for him, this

this is honourable. When hanging upon the Crosse his Disciples ran away from him, then, with *Ioseph of Arimathea*, boldly to shew love to him, this is acceptable.

4 When you strike in on the Lords side, on his Churches side, on his Causes side, you shall not onely strike in with the best side, with the best cause, but with the most prevailing, with that side which must and shall have the victory at the last. It would make a man never to be afraid to be ingaged in a quarrell, where he is sure of the victory. The barque wherein Christ his Church and Cause are may be tossed, but can never be drowned: as *Florus* sayes of the ancient Romans, *Populus Romanus saepe praelio victus, nunquam bello*: the Romans lost many battels, but they were never overcome in a set warre, at the long Run they crushed all their enemies: so all the enemies that seem too hard for Christs Cause, and his Church, must perish; he must rule till all his enemies be made his footstools. Would not this move any man to be on Gods side? I come now to the Intelligence.

Abbington.

I shall begin with the last Intelligence from his Excellencies Army, which as it was advertised by Letters from Abbington, on Thursday last, May 30. was to this effect: That on the Lords day last, a Councell of Warre were by command from his Majesty assembled at Oxford, at which it was upon debate thought fit, that his Majestie should remove from thence, which accordingly he did with about 6000. men, and went to Woodstocke, there were then left in Oxford onely three Regiments, whereof one was of Souldiers, the other of Schollers, and the third of Townsmen, those who were appointed as Commanders over them, and to order things there in the Earl of Forth his absence, were *Cassington*, *Littleton*, *Banks*, and *Heath*, the three last very learned and grave Judges, and fit for Souldiers, but on Tuesday last his Majesty returned back to Oxford, and that night Sir *Roberts Pye* beat up a Quarter of the Kings Horse within three or foure miles of Oxford, and took two whole Troops of Horse, with little losse: His Excellencie the Parliaments Lord Generall is very carefull to inquire out the truth of the proceedings at Oxford, and of his Majesties being there, (both from the Enemies Forces which they take Prisoners, and from those who come from the Enemy unto him) and accordingly relieves either to besiege that

City, on to pursue the Kings Army, a party of his Army are already got over the River into Bullington Green, and his Excellency, the Lord Roberts Field Marshall, and Sir William Waller, have already beset Oxford on the East, West, and South sides thereof, so that the North is now only open, which upon all occasions they can either beleet or move forwards: the Country do daily come in great numbers unto the Lord Generall, so that he hath sent for 2000 Armes for them.

Glocester.

Letters are come from Colonell Massey unto the Parliament, relating severall remarkable and gallant actions lately atchieved by him, against the Enemy, which in generall are to this effect. That he hath taken Boverston Castle in Glocestershire, and therein about 60. Prisoners, with all their Ordnance, Armes, and Ammunition, and from thence he went to Malmsbury in Wiltshire, where he took the Garison, there being 300. men, (the chief whereof were two of the Earle of Bark-shires Sons) 400. Armes, 7. Pieces of Ordnance, besides Powder, Match, and other Ammunition and Provision, and from thence he marched towards Chippenham, where the Enemy having Intelligence of his approach, quitted the Towne, onely he met 40. Horse were going out of the Towne, which he took, besides much provision, and some Armes which they left behind in the Town.

Letters were intercepted the beginning of this week going to Oxford, from Colonell Hentley, who lies before Lynce with a Regiment of Foot Souldiers, wherein he advertised the Earle of Forth, that they had taken the Cob, a strong Fort within a mile of the Town, which commands the passage into it, with severall pieces of Ordnance therein, whereby they had opportunity to burne 17. Pinshaces which lay before the Towne, and had brought relief to it, so that the Town would, as he conceived, be much streightned, but withall further certifies, that those Forces of the Cavaliers that were before the Town, were in a very weak condition, and many of them sick, and without further supply, would not be able to do much against the Towne, yet that notwithstanding they were resolved once more to assault, if they may have any hopes of supply from Oxford, but otherwise, if they should be once more beaten off,

off, which they much feared, they should be forced to raise the Siege: So farre the Letter, by which it plainly appeares how great a necessity there is of sending some relief unto Lyme by Land, in regard the Earle of *Warwick's* great Ships cannot come up unto it by Sea, which it is thought speedy course will be taken to accomplish 1500. Horse completely armed would be able to do that service, there being no other Forces in those parts to oppose them.

In the next place I shall offer something by way of consideration, for the better supply of the City of London with firing, which is, that if a Garison were placed in Reading, and a Fort built on the other side of the River, against Greenland House, that so the Barges and Boats might passe to and fro without interruption, and a power given from the Parliament to cut downe Woods within 10 miles of Reading, which belong either unto Papists, Malignants, or Delinquents, there might be as much Charcoal made of them, and as much Wood provided, as would amount to the value of 20000. l. which would supply the City of London for a good space with Fuell, in a plentifull manner, till such time as there may be free trade from Newcastle or Sunderland.

London.

On Thursday May 30. there was a generall Muster of all the City Forces and others within the Line of Communication: Six Regiments of the City Forces are abroad upon the publike Service, so that there is left of the Forces within the Line of Communication twelve Regiments. The six Regiments of the London Trained Bands containing 40. Companies: Sir *Johnes Harrington's* Regiment, being the Trained Band of Westminster, and that Liberty, containing eight Companies: Colonel *Hudson's* Regiment, being that of Southwarke, containing 8. Companies: foure Regiments of Auxiliaries, containing twenty Companies: Colonel *Willoughbie's* Regiment, being the Auxiliaries of the Hamlets, containing 8. Companies, in all 48. All the Companies of each severall Regiment, being more then six Companies in a Regiment, were taken for a guard for the City and Parliament; the rest, being twelve Regiments, six Companies in a Regiment, marched about twelve a clocke to Hide Parke: the other twelve were thus disposed of: viz. seven Com-

panies to guard the Works and Forts upon the North side the River, two Companies to guard the Forts upon the Southerne, and one Company for Westminster: the other two guarded the City, one Company at the Exchange, the other Company half at Tower hill, and the other at *Pauls*: the names of the Colonels whose Regiments went forth, were these: The *L. Major*, Col. *Adams*, Col. *Pennington*, Col. *Adams*, Col. *Warner*, Col. *Tower*, Col. *Harrington*, Col. *Hudson*, Col. *Townse*, Col. *Willoughby*, Col. *Shepherd*, Colonel *Harsnet*.

The Kings Forces doe in many places daily fall off from him, and amongst the rest *Fisher* and *Knot* the Governours of *Buckham* in *Worcestershire*; are expected shortly to desert that party.

The Inhabitants of *Warwickshire* do testify great affection to the Parliament, in raising Horse and other supplies for the Garrison of *Warwick Castle*.

From *Yorke* we have no other Intelligence, then that the close siege is still continued, and that the Enemy within is much straitened for want of provision, so that it is thought they will be forced to yeeld very suddenly.

Lancashire.

Out of *Lancashire* it is advertised, that the siege of *Latham House* is still continued, notwithstanding the coming of *Prince Rupert* into those parts, that there are constantly 3000. men before it, who are relieved by the Country, as there is occasion, and 3000. more sent in their place, that the *Earl of Manchester*s Horse being joined with *Sir Thomas Fairfax*s, and the Scots Horse, being in all about 8000. Horse, and as many Foot, are upon their March towards him, and resolve to force him either to flee or fight.

Out of the North it is further certified, that the *Earl of Eglington* with a party of about 100. Horse, went towards *Helmckenley Castle*, possessed by the *Marquess of Newcastle*s Forces, and came near the place where there Horse quartered, before the Enemy had any notice of it, where they killed sixe of the Enemy, and took 60. Horse, and a Standard with this Motto, *REX, LEX, GREX*; that is, the *King*, the *Law*, the *People*, the rest fled into the Castle, which the said *Earl* is now in great expectations to be possessed of.

Northampton,

From Northampton it is advertised, that they have lately sent thence to the assistance of the Lord Generall three Troupes of Horse, and six Companies of Foot, containing in all seven hundred men; and that there is the like number of Horse and Foot left there, both for the defence of that Garrison, and for the preservation of the County from the plundering of the Cavaliers; they being sent forth for that purpose to the Faires, and Market Towns, upon Market dayes, and upon all occasions, when there are any great meetings there, and deserve to be much commended for their sedulity therein.

There is also an Ordinance of Parliament sent to Northampton, for the arming of the Inhabitants there for the better defence of that Garrison.

Staffordshire.

Friday May 3. we had certaine intelligence that Russell Hall in Staffordshire was surrendered to the Earle of *Denbigh*, who behaved himselfe very gallantly in the taking thereof. There was therein Colonel *Law*, and divers other Commanders. They took in the house above ten thousand pounds worth of Goods and Wares that had beene plundered from the Carriers, coming from London, and other parts, going towards Lancashire, that being observed to have beene one of the most theieving Garrisons of the Cavaliers in all that County, in that they have sometimes taken seven score packs at a time away from the Carriers; so that this service with much advantage the Countrey, both in regard they may have more free passage for the time to come, and also that a great part of the Goods will be restored to the Owners.

We hear further that the Earle of *Denbigh* is gone from thence to besiege Dudley-Castle, another Garrison of the Cavaliers in that County: he is now about 6000. strong, 1500. Mootlanders being lately joyned with his Army; and it is thought that Colonell *Fox* will also joyne with him, the better to carry on the affaires of the Parliament in those parts.

The same day we received a more particular relation of the Earle of *Manchester* and the Scots Horse their advance (for the assistance of

of the valiant Mancestrians) against Prince *Rupert* , and that Sir *John Meldrum* was also to joyne with them in that Service, so that they were above 12 000, Horse and Foot: Prince *Rupert* (if credit may be given to some reports) hath 5 000. Horse and 3000. Foot with him, besides 50. pieces of Ordnance and 160. Carriages: which although it should be true, our Informer is confident, that (through Gods assistance) the aforesaid Forces would have strength enough to incounter with him.

Lord Generals Army, which was then at Woodstock, was then advertised from the Lord Generals Army, that his Excellency was advanced the day before unto Ifflip, and intended to fall upon the Kings Forces at Woodstock, that so those Forces being dissipated, hee might the more securely goe downe before Oxford, where it was then also certified His Majesty was in person.

Friday May 31. Colonell *Bellasis* and Sir *John Rampton*, Members of the House of Commons, that were taken prisoners by the Lord *Fairfax* his Forces at Salby, came to towne, and were brought to the Barre of the House of Commons, from whence they were committed to the Tower by Order of that House: The Archbishop of Canterbury is to come againe to his Trial on Thursday next, June 6.

Published according to Order.

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MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,
Communicating the Intelligence
and affaires of the Court, to the rest
of the KINGDOME.

The twentieth Weeke, ending May 18. 1644

SUNDAY. May 12.

WE told you last weeke of a notable sally made upon the Rebels, by the most noble Countesse of Derby on Friday the third of this moneth, since which time we have received letters of unquestionable credit, wherein that neeves is not onely confirmed, but intelligence also of another brave Sally on Sunday last betweene seven and eight of the clocke in the evening, at which time a good part of the Garrison fell upon the Rebels, which lay betwixt the *New Park* and the House, and behaved themselves so exceeding gallantly, that they killed many scores of them in their stretches, drove the rest out, and continued the execution to the *Park* side, to the losse of 2 or 300 Rebels and returned back into *Latham* house with three great pieces of Ordnance, which they tooke from the Rebels. Since the tenth of the last moneth this brave Lady hath gotten seven pieces of the Rebels Canon, besides 1 mortar piece, & many Colours, and killed above 600 Rebels, many of whose dead bodies lye soe near the House, which are not fetcht off by either side, which the Rebels are well pleased should lye there still, that they may give it out into karkassies

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kassies

MAY 12 & 13, 1644.

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kaffes were such as belong'd to the House, thinking also there by that so loathsome a sight & stench this hot weather might drive away Ladies not used to such extremities. One thing we cannot passe, that the Garrison is informed by some Prisoners, how Colonel *Moor* commanded a piece of Cannon, charged with chaine shot, to have killed this brave Lady and her children by her, during a Parley, which the Garrison (trouched with the horror of so barbarous a murder) refused to doe. But the resolution of all in the House is to live and dye in this cause by fire, sword, starving, or what ever malice can invent. The incensed Rebels (to recruit those whom the Garrison hath slaine, have this last weeke sent 800 of their best Souldiers to assist the besiegers.

MONDAY May 13.

Now if you would know how theyle use *Latham House* (could they get admission into it,) bee pleased to consider the *Members new Ordinance* for the defacing of all *Movments in Churches, Chappels, and dwelling houses*: for on Thursday last, May 9, they ordeined that all *representations or Sculpturs in any Cathedral, Collegiate, or parish Church or Chappell, or any other place within this Kingdome, shall be defaced and utterly demolished*: and that all *Organs, the frames or cases wherein they stand in all Churches and Chappels shall be utterly defaced*, And that the *Chancell ground of every Church or Chappell reserved for any Communion Table to stand on, shall be levelled with the ground*, And that no *Surplices* (they are their owne wordes) *hoodes, or other superstitious vestments, shall be any more used within this Realme*, The reason of all this (next to a compliance with the *Anabaptists and Brownists*, their dearly beloved instruments) you may find in the last particular of their Ordinance, where 'tis ordeined, that no *Crosse, Picture, or representation of any Angel Saint, or other superstition, shall continue upon any silver plate, &c. but shall be defaced & taken away*. Yes, this is it, the plate & the silver, which in al mens trunks in *England* will require reformation. And if you mark it, these prudent

Members

MAY 14 1644

Members never yet pass'd an Ordinance, but in one part or o-
ther, 'twas to fetch in money,

TUESDAY, May 14.

May, to let you see what the *Members* will doe for silver, they have found a new way, to make money of poor widowes, whose husbands have beene slayne in their service: for both this, and the last week they have searched divers houses in and about London, for such women as they thinke inclined to be malignants; whom they send beyond the Seas, and sell for ready money. The truth is, the clamour and complaint of these poore Widowes hath beene in great and true that the *Members* are resolyed to suffer it no longer: And therefore have this week made an Order to force them all from London; the Order it self being briefe and not yet Printed, we here give you a Copy of it,

It is this day ordered by the Commons House of Parliament, that directions be given to the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Common Councell, and the Committee of the *City* to take some speciall and strict course for the removal of all suspicious persons all such as have lately come from Oxford, or any other of the *Kings Quarters*, *Recusants*, the wives of *Recusants*, and the wives of such whose husbands are in arms against the Parliament, out of the City of London, Westminster, the Suburbs, the Innes of Court, the Chancery, and all other places within the line of Communication. And to take some course to prevent the return of them, or the coming in of any other. And likewise to take order that all the Fences of the Cities of London, Westminster, the Suburbs, and line of Communication, be put in a posture ready to march at two houres warning. And that they will give order that good watches by faithfull or good men may be kept at all the guards, or upon all the Avenues to the City. The like directions mutatis mutandis to be sent to the severall and respective Committees of the severall and respective Counties.

H. Elyng Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

Let all the world judge whether the Parliament of England

MAY 14. & 15. 1644.

dd ever force men to loose their lives in fighting against their King, and then banish and make sale of their Widowes because their husbands were slaine in their service.

WEDNESDAY, May 15.

Nay they have now so far transcended all other Rebels, that the good Earl of *Stamford* on Friday last petitioned his fellow-members of both Houses, that he might have Liberty to travell, for it seems his Lordship is grown weary of the Place, especially since the Faction refused him (among others) to be of the *State-Committee*. But his Lordship for this malignant request (offering to leave them in time of imminent danger) was much distast'd by his younger brethren of the pretended *Lower-House*, especially by *Master Nicolls* (*John Pym's* Kinman) who pressed so eagerly against the Earl, that the rest thought him fit, and therefore voted him to bring in a charge against the Earl of *Stamford* by Munday next, for the loss of the *West*: And the like shall be done to *Sir William Waller*, unless he regain it.

This talk of old done deeds in the *West*, put them in mind of their deare *Westerne* Burgesse *Master John Pym*; for whose sake a motion was then made, that care might be taken of his children, by an allowance out of the two Ordinances for *Excise*: but that motion was instantly dash'd with a promise to consider of that hereafter: for indeed *John Pym* is in no capacity to doe them further service, and they must provide for the future, and not trouble themselves for what is done and past.

For the *Members* find money comes in too slowly, to spend it in a complement upon *John Pym's* children, the want wherof made the Lord *Say* so pressing to have them passe the Ordinance for the *Kings Revenue*, which (to the honour of this Faction) was voted on Saturday last *May 11*, when there was but Three Lord besides him that stood for the *Speaker*; and yet this *House of Three Lords* (wherof my Lord *Say* was two) tooke on them the disposall of all Lands and Revenues belonging to the *Crowne of England*; and would have us believe it is the unanimous Act of the Lord and Peers of this Kingdome.

THURSDAY.

MAY 16 & 17. 1644.

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THURSDAY, May 16.

But though they have thrust the Parliament out of *Westminster* by club-law, (so as no Member without perjury can keepe them company) yet doe the *Grande*s continue their old way of bringing down the City to force the *Members* votes when any bill tickes in either House; as appears by their carriage on Saturday last, when Alderman *Foulke* came down from their Citizens to desire their Lordships to joyn with the Commons in passing the Ordinance for the Earle of *Manchester*, & that other for continuance of the Committee of both Kingdomes: These Lords (good men) durst not deny them, but very obediently passed them both. Nay the *Lower Members* had voted before, That the Committee of both Kingdomes should proceed as it did for three months longer, having in their Vote these very words, [Though the Lords deny to consent unto it]. Thus the Rebels at *Westminster* goe al manner of ways inconsistent with a Parliament. First they banish all honest men thence, next they send for men of other Nations to joyn with them, Then they select a few choyce Rebels to joyn with these forrainers for the dispatch of all their great designs, whereof the other Members must neither have power nor knowledge, but sit by, as uselesse as if they were honest men, till such time as the *Grande*s have occasion to use their Votes, which if they deny, down comes Master *Foulke*, with an Alarme from the City, that such and such Bills the Citizens would have passed: and then it is *imminent danger* and *invincible necessity* to refuse, And yet this forraigne, medly forced Assembly, would faine vote it selfe the Parliament of England.

Last weeke we gave you notice of *Sivamy*s barbarous murdering those Gentlemen at *Milford-haven*, and we then belived that so bloody, groundlesse, and unparallel'd murder would have put the Rebels to frame some excuses to conceale such a villany from the eye of the world, but so shamelesse and impudent are these Rebels now growne, that they triumph and applaud it as a meritorious action, all their weekly Authors from the *Scots* down to the very *Scots* have done this, and have plentifully themselves with variety of expressions in approbation of

the fact; One sayes, That Captaine Swanley took a score English-Irish, and sent them a fishing to the bottom of the Sea; Another sayes, That Captaine Swanley made those Irish drink their bellies full of salt-water: Another That Captaine Swanley made those who would not take the Covenant, take the water with their heads downward: Another, That the Captain made triall if an Irish Cavalier could swim without hand. And the **WEEKLY ACCOUNT** speaks it home, That Captaine Swanley took good store of such as came from Ireland, tyed them back to back, and cast them into the Sea for refusing the Covenant. As to murder men for that they are unwilling to be perjur'd, be for **Lawes & Liberties**, then they at **Westminster** may go for a **Parliament**. But the blood of these innocent Gentlemen doth cry so loud for vengeance, that we are confident the Rebels will prosper accordingly: Let them remember they are foretold of it.

FRIDAY, May 17.

No wonder therefore that the **Kentish & City Forces** begin to distast their service, and claim the promise that they might return home from serving any longer under Sir **William Waller** whereof Sir **William** is so sensible, that he labour'd all his Fellow-Members at **Westminster** to make an Order that he might still enjoy the **City and Kentish Forces**, otherwise he assured them his Army would come to nothing, And this was done notwithstanding they had heretofore twice declared that they should returne long before this, But you must know those Orders were made to invite them forth, which they meant should be observ'd no longer then while they were marching out. And the truth is, they observe their own Orders no more then all others should do; every day vowing apparent contradictions in so much that one of their plot writ in a letter dated **May 15.** that if it would advantage them cause he, though it is lawfull to invade what ever had passed since the beginning of this **Parliament**. As for Sir **William Waller** they will not only break their promise by forcing the **Citizens and men of Kent** to continue with him, but made a new Order on **Monday last**, that more **Irish Londoners** shall be sent to recruit him, whereas some Citizens

MAY 17, & 18. 1644.

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Citizens are so offended (remembering their usage at *Basing* & other places, where still they were put upon the most desperate service) that now they are resolv'd to be practis'd on no longer; Colonel *Harvey* himself (their faithful servant) chosing rather to lay downe his Commission, then serve under *Waller*. It being already agreed on, that if they loose their lives in their Army, their wives for their sakes shal be thrust out of *London*, & out of *England* too; who because they have lost their husbands are preiud'd to be Malignants; and therefore are not suffer'd to eat bread within the Line of Communication, Nay could they feed on hay & grasse they should not stay: For Master *Foxley* (that ignorant Lay-Lecturer.) cried out lately at Saint Pulchers Church; *Oh the sinnes of the Malignants; & the hulle care of Officers that suffer so many malignant horses and mares to remaine within the line of Communication, to eat up the good hay, and the good provender, from those good horses, that doe the good service, for the good Cause; Out with these Malignant horses, out with them; out with them, out of the Line.*

SATURDAY. May. 18.

But Father *Foxley* (for so the people call his large beard) is now like to have more brethren as ignorant as himself; for *Cornelius Burges* brought a petition up to *Westminster* for power of Ordination to be given to the Assembly; which the Lower Members received so kindly that *Cornelius* came againe thither on Thursday last with an other request, that the Assembly might have liberty to send a Letter of thanks to the Assembly in Scotland for their perseverance in the Cause: That is, That Master *Henderson* (that ambitious, bloody, malicious Incendiary) might receive thanks from Scotland, for procuring thanks to be sent thither.

But all this the Members thinke superfluous, for its hotly reported in *London*, that His sacred Majesty is comming up to *Westminster*: to incourage which rumour, the Members on Thursday last sent a Letter to the Earle of *Essex*. (Yes & told the people that they did write.) how they were credibly informed that His Majesty intends to come for *London*. And this was done, meerely to foole the people, and make them (forsooth) believe

beleive that the King in so great a streight, as he knew not what to doe for his safety; but to come to them to London. Will these tricks never be left?

And to give this report more credit the *Members* desired his Excellence to see if *Reading* were tenable, because His Majesty had drawn forth his Garrison, and slighted the works; insubedience whereof he sent a good strength to enter *Reading*, who (according to their custom) instantly fell a plundering, but the *Lord J. Wilmot* hath so welcom'd them into their new Quarters that they ran backe to the place from whence they came, left good store of their men dead in the streets, besides forty Prisoners, their Plunder being decreed paid for, though not carryed home.

One thing we must mention for their sakes at London, that because Sergeant Major *Moale* deputy Governour of *Dudley Castle* an honest man then his brother) escaped last weeke out of the Towre, they have sought long for him in the Tower ditch, and put up Bills to desire the well-affected to mak discovery of him; but they may please to take notice that he is come as safe to *Oxford*, as that valiant Knight *Sir Thomas Lunsford*; who though he was exchanged for 2 or 3 of the Rebels Commanders, was like to have been murdered as he came out of *Warwick Castle*, by those perfidious Rebels that were placed there to guard his passage.

But while we are writing this, letters from *Cornwall* certify us, that on Monday morning last, before day, the *Plymouth* Rebels stole over *Grimbell* passage to *Moun-Edgcombe*, and being so unexpected a number (for there were above three parts of *Plymouth* Garrison,) they summon'd *Moun-Edgcombe* House, wherein were only 30 musketeers; but were so well received by that gallant Gentleman Master *Piers Edgcombe*, that above 80 of the Rebels were killed in the place, with losse onely of one man in the House; The Rebels understanding that more aid was coming in, ran back again, taking 23 of their dead men into their boats, of whose buriall they had more care then ordinary, especially one Commander whose funeral in *Plymouth*, the Rebels solemnized with three great volleys.

PRINTS.

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Mercurius Britannicus

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAIN:

For the better Information of the People.

From Monday the 27. of May, to Monday the 3. of June. 1644.

I Shall pursue *Aulicus* as his Excellency doth his Majesty, I hope I shall now overtake him, for his wit marches like their train of Artillery in pursuite. wet weather, very heavily, he begins thus.

We told you last weeke of a notable Sally made upon the Rebels, by the most noble Countesse of Derby: Yes, you have told us every weeke of her, you will not let the Countesse be quiet in her Castle, but fathers such prodigious, and masculine *Sallies* upon the Countesse, (that the Earle vowes) if all be true I hear, never to appear for them again, for he sayes they give the Lady all the reputation, and he was never so much as named, but at his voyage into the *Ile of man*, where he was neither able to raise the Ile, nor a man in it.

But now sayes he we have received Letters of unquestionable credit; but where are these Letters so unquestionable? no where but in Oxford, that I know on, or within their Prelaticall line of Communication.

But sayes he, we have Intelligence of another Sally: Reader did you ever see such an impudent Pamphlet as this, to affirme the Countesse was in another Sally, when I know one that dare take oath, she hath not stirred out of her bed-chamber since the Siege begun: *Aulicus*, I prethee do not trouble a Countesse thus with thy continuall *Sallies*, thou woot do her more dishonour, for there is a little rumour wandering about, that the Countesse is not all of one Sex, but like the Earles Principality, she is suspected to be part of the *Ile of man*, plainly, some thinke her an *Hermophradise*, a Lady betwixt two genders.

He sayes this Sally was on Sunday night last; yes, it is very likely, if they do any murder, or mischief, it is upon the Lords day, that is all the solem-

Aulicus receives strange Letters.

Another Sally

The Countesse not thought to be of one Sex.

The time of
the Salley.

nity, or celebration they give it; but he goes on to tell you more of the Salley, and he is as punctuall in the story, as he was at Dumfreize, he gives you it to a minute; it was sayes he, betwixt seven and eight of the clock, Yes, and the Sun was in Capricorne by all good tokens; this is no good signe for the Earle of Derby, that the Countesse had rather endure extremitie at home, with a few lusty Commanders and Groomes, then live chastly abroad with the Earle himselfe; well, I am loath to speake what iniquity hath beene committed under the colour of a siege.

Number of
the slaine un-
certaine.

He sayes, two or three hundred were slaine in the Salley by her, you see he is uncertaine in his accounts, yet we are beholding to him for sparing us one Cypher more, he might as easily have helpt the Countesse to have made them three thousand, as three hundred; for usually (as I understand) when the Intelligence comes to his hand, there is still a clause left, and the numbers of the slaine and taken, are left to the discretion of the Anticus, and then he puts to a Cypher, or takes away a figure, as may best conduce to his Majesties affaires.

Col. Moores
Command.

One thing sayes he, I cannot passe, Colonell Moore Commanded a Piece of Cannon, charged with Chaine shot, to kill this brave Countesse and her children; I pray you observe, first, sayes he, charged the Cannon with Chaine shot, and then charged the Cannon to kill her and her children, as if the Cannon had beene as durfull to execute a murdering Command, as Prince Rupert to execute her Majesties; but suppose the Colonell Commanded to shoote Chaine shot, I believe it would please Latham house better then round shot, it is such a Malignant Castle.

But he sayes, the Lady and her children should have been killed; I wonder he sayes not the Colonell intended to shoote her, and the next generation after her which is to come, and how he could possibly have found out a Chaine shot to have reached such an execution, is admirable.

Good newes
from Anticus.

But if you would know some good newes from Lancashire, I shall tell you it from Anticus, the incensed besiegers sayes he, have sent for 800. of their best souldiers to recruite them, so as it seemes they are in a brave and recruited condition, according to a plaine Oxford confession.

New Ordi-
nance.

Now he tels us of our new Ordinance, he was but at Latham house even now, and now he is at Westminster; certainly there is some Hocum Pocus in the Intelligence, for besides his juggling, his relations are as nimble as Rupert in his March, who is in the morning in Leicestershire, and in the afternoone in Lancashire, and the same day towards supper time before Shrewsbury; pretty considerable Advances, without question he hath a flying Army, this is according to our Intelligence; I wish, either he, or our Intelligence marched slower.

I shall print the Ordinance.

May 9. Ordered that all representations or Sculptures in any Cathedral, Collegiate, or parish Church or Chappell, or any other place within this Kingdom, shall be defaced and utterly demolished; and that all Organs, the frames or cases wherein they stand in all Churches and Chappells shall be utterly defaced; And that the Chimney-piece of every Church or Chappell raised for any Communion Table to stand on, shall be levelled with the ground, And that no Surplices, Hoods, or other superstitious vestments, shall be any more used within this Realme. The reason of all this, saith he, you may finde in the last particular of their Ordinance, where it is ordered, that no Crosse, Picture, or representation of any Angel, Saint, or other superstition shall continue upon any silver plate, &c. One shall be defaced and taken away.

Now he speaks a little by way of Paraphrase; and thus; *that no Surplices, they are their owne words, sayes he; Yes, but the Surplices themselves are yours, Hands, or other superstitious vestments; shall be any more used within this Realme; Oh! this grieves the Bishops and Doctors to part with Surplices, for that was all the cleane linnen or Lawne that most of them ever had; all their whitenesse and innocency was in the Surplice; and for their Hoods, they are sorry that the hoods shall be sequestred, for they usually carryed two faces under them, and the Hoods being taken away, they are discovered.*

The reason of all this sayes he, is a compliance with the Anabaptists and Brownists, their dearly beloved instruments; now Reader, this is a stale calumny, Anabaptists and Brownists; if there be any more conscience and piety, or zeale against Idolatry then ordinary, that is not Anabaptisme, a-bominable Brownisme; but you never heare word all this time of their Instruments, I meane not their winde-Instruments, such as they celebrate the Common Prayers with, tuning their Letany and Collects, into Jiggs and Carantoës, but their Irish bloody Instruments; those whom his Majesty hath pardoned so freely, for cutting so many throats of his innocent Subjects; should I tell you of their Instruments, I must reckon from the Pope to the Cardinals, from the Cardinals to Rectors and Con, from them to Jesuits, Priests, Seculars, Friars, Prolatos, Bishops, Prebends, Bulls, Indulgences, Dispensations, &c. all Instruments in this design of theirs for Popery.

But he sayes they have ordained that no crosse or picture, Saint, or Angel, shall continue upon any Silver Plate, &c. Yes, and they have ordained at Oxford and other places where they travell (for they are now in Pilgrimage, and morion, doing penance for being a little on the Protestant Religion) that all Silver plate it selfe shall be taken quite away, onely the

The Bishops and Doctors grieve to part with Surplices, &c.

A stale Calumny.

A Crosse Or-
dinance.

Reformation
of Trunkes.

Crosses, Saints, and Angels left standing, this is a cleare Crosse Ordinance to that of ours.

But sayes he all mens Trunkes in England will require reformation: indeed their Trunkes stand in need of a Reformation, especially Ruperts, for never was Dormitories so full of wicked Plunder, and illegall coyne, and that young man hath made it his businesse since he came to rob his Unckles and his Ants Dominions, and line his trunkes with the Pillagings of the poore Subiects, and then he is for the Hague.

Now sayes he all their Orders is to fetch in money, nay not all, one late order to his Excellency is to fetch in his Majestie, for we have him opely yet in his Coyne, and why may not our Parliament fetch in money by Ordinance, the truth is, our consciences will not let us destroy the Subject, and fire them with Proclamations, but all this while there is not one word concerning their wayes of raising moneys, I thinke they have made an end of their Sessments, and Taxes in the utter desolation of the places where they quarter, and now as a just judgement upon their proceedings, they are flying into Wales, and that is a Principality so bare already, that there is hopes it may in time reduce them to some necessary and Cavalerish devotion, as fasting, and preying upon the poor Welchmen.

A new way to
raise money.

Now he tells us of a new Way to make money of poore widwes, whose husbands have been slaine in their service; now you are mistaken in your Intelligence, it is those only whose husbands are in your service, and their wives in ours, whose wives are committing Matrimoniall treachery at London, and other places within the Line.

We have such female villany committed, that unlesse we looke well about us, we shall be betrayed with Malignant Aprons, and black hoods, but I shall print this Ordinance he so much scandalizes.

It is this day ordered by the Commons house of Parliament, that directions be given to the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Common Counsell, and the Committee of the Militia to take some speciall and strickt course for the removall of all suspicious persons, all such as have lately come from Oxford, or any other of the Kings Quarsters, Recusants, the wives of Recusants, and the wives of such whose husbands are in Armes against the Parliament, out of the City of London, Westminster, the Suburbs, the Innes of Court, the Chancery, and all other places within the Line of Communication: And to take some course to prevent the returne of them, or the coming in of any other. And likewise to take order that all the Forces of the Cities of London, Westminster, the Suburbs, and line of Communication, be put in a posture ready to march at two hours warning. And that they will give order that good watches by faithfull and good men may be kept at all the guards, and

upon

upon all the Avenues in the City. The like directions mutatis mutandis to be sent to the severall and respective Committees of the severall and respective Counties.

H. Elfyng Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

He tels us of the Earle of *Stamford* that Petitioned the house of *Peers* for leave to travell, this is true, the Earle is sick to see such doings in *Eng-land*, to see his Maiestie pardon those odious Rebels, and give them their desires, to see the *Queen flying* and the *King* so fettered that he must needs follow her, in all her detestable vagaries; God give him eyes to see his way back into the Protestant Religion, for God knowes, he is now too farre gone or drawn on in this way to *Popery*; never a *Protestation* nor *Declaration*, that he made from the first time of swearing, 1641. though they should be all reprinted, and in greater Letters, are able to rescue him from the guilt of a great transgression, and the just suspicion of his Subjects.

Why a Peere
Petitioned
that he might
travell.

He tels us of *Mr. Nicholls* drawing a charge against him for the losse of the *West*, and *Sir William VValler* shall have the like if he regaine it not, the forepart of this is good Intelligence, there was a charge brought in, for he accused *Master Nicholls* for it, and had not his Lordship discharged first, they at *Oxford* had wanted this relation, and for that of *Sir William VValler*, it is a Prophecie what he shall doe, and if the successe of that noble Knight be like the Pamphlets prediction, I shall say that *Aulicus* speaks truth better beforehand, then afterwards.

Mr. Nicholls.

He tels us of strange designes, of *Club-Law*, of Alderman *Fulke* coming down with a party of *Citizens* for passing the Ordinance, for the Earle of *Manchester*, and the continuance of the Committee of both Kingdomes, and suppose there were a designe in all this, yet it is far short of the *Irish* designe of bringing over ten thousand Rebels, of pawning some of the Kingdom to the *King of Spaine*, of his Majesties coming to his Parliament with a designe to divide the houses and the City; but what tell you us of *Club-law*, and parties from the City; can you remember such meetings without shame, and infamy, you see these honourable Peeres, and Commons sit still, and do not rise, and run away as you did, crying out of mutinies, and free Parliaments, posting down by forty in a company, lest the honest Apprentices should give their Lordships a wel-affected Kaining.

Club-law.

But you little perceive what it is makes him raile so: Oh! there is the *State Committee* in it, and that undoes them from *Oxford* to *Bristol*, but to see how the Pamphlet over reaches, and interfeares; all this innumerable company he talkes on, are onely the two Sheriffs of *London*, the Aldermen, and Common Councell, together with a peaceable and excellent

Why Aulicus
railes?

Petition, and he concludes thus: *This forraim medley forced Assembly, would faine vote it selfe a Parliament of England*; it is true indeed, and it is all this, it is first forraim, so many *Irish Rebell Commissioners* from the *Canticks* there, it is medley too, and consists of *fermins*, and *Digbies*, and *Ratcliffs*, and *Cottingtons*, and such as have been vomited out long since, and it would faine vote it selfe the *Parliament* too, and to that end sat in the *Convocation House* at *Oxford*, and had a thing like a *Speaker*, and set out pieces of paper like *orders*, and gave thanks to the *Malignant Doctors* and *Priests*, for spending an hour in *Idolary*, and *Common prayer*, before them; and put themselves into *Papish parties* like *Committees*, but all will not do. They are to meet againe in *Winter*, on condition, they live out this *Summer*.

Captaine
Swanley.

Now he tels us of gallant *Captaine Swanley*, and of his (as he calls it barbarous murdering those that refused the *Covenant*) but the *Captaine* is come to answer himselfe, and will relate us the whole story, so as all the *impeachments* drawne up against the *Kingdome Intelligence*, the *Scout*, and the *Scottish Dove*, and the *Weekly Account*, are not able to beare him up in one *Charge*, and this I will say, that *Aulicus* had never seene *Purgatory*, had he done but the *King* as faithfull service as the *Intelligence*, and the rest hath done the *Kingdome*.

Aulicus
would faine
prophecie.

But he concludes; that wee shall not prosper for that; I tell you he would faine get into the vaine of *Prophecying*, that when he can communicate *Intelligence* no longer, he may inherit the *spirit of Mother Shipton*, and tell *fortunes*; but when doth this fellow date his *Prognostications*? sure from the taking of *Oxford*, and the routing of *Hapton*, and the storming of *Yorke*, and then *Prophecying* is the best trade he can take up, and feed his ignorant *Readers* upon what is to come, and give them *Intelligence* for the future.

Foretelling.

But, sayes he, let them remember they are foretold of us; and I pray remember you what we foretold yee long agoe; Did not we say you destroyed the *Protestants* in *Ireland*? did not we say you favoured the bloody *Rebels* more then the poore *Protestants*? did not we say you would bring in *Papery*? and yet you swore, and declared, and protested, and Proclaimed, and laid all upon the *Parliament*, and now it appears all to the full as we foretold you.

Kentish Forces.

He tels us of the *Kentish Forces* againe withdrawing themselves; but I leave gallant *Sir Anthony Welden*, and the noble *Sir Henry Haman* to answer them at *Oxford* to this scandall, who are so far from withdrawing, they are raising up their *County* into a *Posture* of defence, and giving them the lye at *Oxford* to their very faces.

He

He tells us of Colonell *Harvey*, and the worthy Citizens, refusing to march, yes, and it appears thus, Colonell *Harvey* marched out of *London* with 400. horse to my Lord Generall on Monday night, and this is the truth of his story.

He tells us of old Master *Foxley* the reverend Lecturer, and makes a malignant use or two concerning *Horses* and *Mares*, and sets his name to it, who will disavow it; and most irreverently in the next place, sets his beard to it, sure this is a suggestion from *Davis* the Barbour, who is a profest enemy to the haire of the well affected, and reproaches the length of a beard in any but in *Bishops* and *Deanes*. Mr. Foxe

Now he tells us of his *Majesty*, and sayes, we forged a story of his coming to *London*, and cries, will these tricks never be left? *Tricks*; indeed, *Tricks*. Once his Majesty sent a *Commission* to Master *Tompkins*, and the rest within the line of *Communication* to rise against the Parliament, there was one *Tricke*: Then they treated with reverend Master *Smarts* son in law, to divide the *Presbyters* and *Independents* as they called them, there was another *Tricke*: Beside infinite more, and the last *Tricke*, to send the King to *London*, and there was more then one *tricke* in that, and then when it was discovered, they cryed out to his Majesty to returne, or they were all undone, and then send him away to I know not what place, nor he himselfe (if all be true we heare.)

Intelligence.

I begin with some newes from *Anlicus*, which if rightly rendred is very considerable; *Plimouth Garrison* sallied out in a brave party to *Mount-Edgecombe*, lost onely six men, and marched on to recover them at *Morbrooke*, where they recovered with advantage, and tooke many a beast to boote (you thinke I meane *Cavaliers*) they took an hundred Cowes, three hundred sheep, all in one Brigade, an hundred and fifty prisoners, nine piece of Cannon. Plimouth Garrison.

Now that our *Armies* have taken the field, Malignants themselves do see their errors, who made their estimate with *Oxford Arithmatick*, accounting of the Parliament Forces as weak; and inconsiderable, whereas at the last *Thursdaves* generall Muster of *London*, where eighty *Colours* compleat appeared, they might see a brave Army, besides what were on the guard of the works, and six Regiments that were abroad upon the Parliament service; not that we boast in the arme of flesh, but that all may see our Cause being good, we have yet enough to encounter with the roddo. Irish bloody Rebels that are to come over; his Majesties Loyall Catholique and pardoned Subjects, who by cutting of an hundred and twenty thousand A considerable Army at London, notwithstanding the Parliaments Armies abroad.

thousand Protestants throats, have attained all their Propositions, and by their Commissioners its hoped that they shall helpe to settle the intended Protestant Religion here: Whereas the honest Protestants are accounted, and Proclaimed Rebels for misdoubting or opposing them, and justly defending their Religion, Laws, and Liberties against manifest violence.

Col. Massey.

Colonell *Massey* that much to be honoured, and valiant Gentleman, hath done things even of late of *abundant merit*, as the taking of *Malmesbury*, *Beverston-castle*, and *Chippingham*, in which places he had both Ordnance, Ammunition and many prisoners; it is no question but that he, that durst looke the mis-councelled Lyon in the face, now that the Foxes that gave those Counsells begin to flie dares to act this, and more out of a conscience and providence, that guides him in the justnesse of the Cause.

His Excellency.

His Excellency is advanced to *Islip*, and is rather gone beyond the enemy, then on this side, nor can the enemy tell on which side to evade him, with such a circumferencing Military posture hath his Excellency encompassed the publique enemies in those parts.

Earle of Denby.

The Earle of *Denby* hath taken *Russell* House in *Staffordshire* by surrender, notwithstanding it was strong and well fortified, and Col. *Hastings* endeavoured the reliefe, but the Earle having beate back *Hastings* with losse, soone obtained the other; the particulars being not yet come, I shall leave the more ample Relation to another time.

P. Rupert.

Prince *Rupert* is said to be come into *Lancashire*, some say to relieve the Countesse of *Derby* at *Latham* House, that she may not surfeit upon *Sal-lies*, others say he bends his March for the reliefe of the besieged Catholics (his best friends, I name not his kindred) in *Yorke*, but he is like to meete a Rub in his way, for the valiant and faithfull Commander Sir *John Meldrum* is gone that way with 6000. Horse, and 5000. Foote, to obstruct his passage with their Guns, Pikes, and Swords.

A Commissioner from Oxford.

There is a Commissioner taken by our Scouts as he was recreating himself, who was sent out of *Ireland* from the Protestants, to treat with his Majesty on their behalves, he tels that the Commissioners for the Popish party in *Ireland*, had such accesse and successe with the King, and he and his fellow Commissioners for the Protestants such slighings, and such seldome admittances into the Royall presence, that to the sadnesse of his, and the Protestant parties hearts, he is able to expresse it, and the Irish Commissioners with two much gladnesse are returned home.

Doubt. What will the issue of our Summers businesse be?

Satisfaction. Without question good, the sins of our enemies are to ripe, if we have no treachery in some Commanders, and if our sinne heighten not as well as theirs.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.



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Seasonable Discourse,

OR,

A Censure upon a Dialogue

OF THE

ANABAPTISTS,

INTITVLED,

*A Description of what God hath Predestinated concerning
Man; Is tryed and examined,*

Wherein these seven points are handled & Answered, viz.

- 1 Of Predestination
- 2 Of Election
- 3 Of Reprobation
- 4 Of Falling away

}

- 5 Of Freewill
- 6 Of Originall sinne
- 7 Of Baptizing Infants.

By HENRY AINSWORTH.

Rom. 9. 11.

*For the children being not yet borne, neither having done any good or evil,
that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works,
but of him that calleth.*

June 4th.

LONDON,

Printed for Benjamin Allen, dwelling in Popes-head-Alley.

1644.

Second Edition
A Complete and Correct
OF THE
ANABAPTIST

A Description of their Doctrine, Practices,
and Manners, as they are now
Wherein their eleven points are explained.

1. Of their Doctrine
2. Of their Practices
3. Of their Manners
4. Of their History

By Henry Ainsworth.

London: Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1644.

Printed for E. Smith, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1644.



To the READER.



Christian Reader, howbeit the continued infirmity of this Authors body, wherewith it pleased God to exercise him, might justly have excused him from taking pen in hand to write, especially in businesses of this nature, his desire being, as himself testified in his life time, to finish this last period of his life with more comfortable meditations then to follow controversies: yet did hee labour to his power, yea and as I may say, beyond his power, to enforce himself even in his decayed health, together with his other necessary labours, to discover the fraud and falshood of the adversaries: amongst others hee judged these Anabaptists not the least, which occasioned this ensuing Censure; Another neerer inhabitant than the former author, was one M. Paget, that lived in the same City by him, being a chiefe leader to another Congregation there, who being of a quarrellsome disposition, and envious hearted towards Mr. Ainsworth, and the truth professed by him, having unjustly picked quarrels against him: afterward without his privy while matters were in debating (not imitating Doct. Reynolds to Hart, although hee highly commends him, p. 367.) published a book against him, laying to his charge things which hee knew not, even grosse untruths, and palpable reproaches, making diverse false charges upon him, as if hee neither shamed nor feared to bee Satans instrument to blow abroad whatsoever envy and malice had scraped together, in likelihood expecting no other reward than gratifying the world by the Gospels disgrace in our subversion; yea labouring through his sides to smite the Text it selfe, which I trust Mr. Ainsworth, hath well cleared himselfe in that little advertisement published in his life time with those books of Moses,

To the Reader.

besides a particular answer to his book hee had well begun, and had finished long before his death, had not his infirmity of body hindered. But now time permits not to instance particulars, but leaving so unneighbourly, yea, so unchristian an opposite to the Lord for judgment, I will adde a word or two touching the occasion of this Treatise insuing, which was at the request of some, (whose minds the Anabaptists would cumber with their errors) to shew his judgement on the foresaid book. Now as some were assaulted that yet would give no way or entertainment to those errors, yet othersome that had stood in the truth a long time, were perverted. The knowledge of these things comming to this reverend and judicious man Mr. Henry Ainsworth, hee soon drew out this answer, and sent it by a friend into England to reclaime (if God saw it good) such as had erred herein, and gone astray by rash and inconsiderate Zeale beyond knowledge, and through the grace of God to preserve such from falling as yet stood: this he sent for the present, purposing if the Lord continued some competent health and strength, to revise and so to make more perfect this, which then shortnesse of time in respect of the Messengers great hast, could not bee afforded, and so to make it publicke in this Spring; but the Lord having prevented this his purpose, by taking him to himselfe, he now resteth from his labours. Yet finding the matter may through the blessing of God, bee profitable to his people, it is thought fit not to keep these his last labours in matters of this nature, in silence, but that it come to the publicke view for the good of them that are ordained to life. And so I wish thee to farewell in the Lord.



A

Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists, intituled, *A Description* of what God hath predestinated concer- ning MAN, &c.

BEing requested by some, whose mindes the Anabaptists would cumber with their errours, to shew my judgement on their foresaid Book; I have set down these few observations.

In the first part which they intitle of *Predestination*, they commit a double fault; First, they confirm not by holy Writ their own doctrine: for in the third page of their Dialogue, they describe Gods Predestination out of their own head; not one Scripture brought to prove that they say; neither can they justify by Gods Word that their description, wherein somethings are erroneous, some ambiguous and sophisticall, till they bee cleared. Secondly, they abuse and calumniate the doctrine of those whom they call Calvinists, and would father upon them absurdities, errours, blasphemies, taking advantage upon some harsh phrases, concluding against their worle things then either they spake or meant; passing over the explanations to bee seen in sundry of their workes, which will cleare them of the errors that these men would inforce upon them.

The differences which they make (in page 4) between the Calvinists doctrine and theirs, are fraudulent and injurious. As between *All things*, and *all good things*: where first these Anabaptists do differ from the plain Scriptures which testify that *All things* were created by Christ Col. 1. 16. and without him was not any things made that was made, 1 Job. 1. 2. Secondly, they cannot bee ignorant but that wee hold all things

things that were made to bee very good, *Gen. 1.31.* so this difference they forged out of their idle heads.

The second and third differences, as that the Calvinists should say, *whatsoever is done (murder or the like) commeth from God; and that God is the principall cause and author of all things, appointing all things to the one part and to the other, damnation as salvation, vice as vertue.* But the Anabaptists say, *whatsoever good is done commeth from God, but no evill things that are done; and that God is the principall cause and author of all good, and of salvation to all men: but the devill is the author of all evill.* In these differences they set downe some errour, with calummie and sophistry.

Errour it is to say, God appointed not Damnation as salvation: wherein again they proclaim themselves different from holy Scripture. For damnation being a worke of Gods justice upon the reprobates, (as salvation is a work of his grace toward his elect) commeth from God, and is by him appointed; as these Scriptures plainly testifie, *Mat. 25. 41. Jude v. 4. 2 Pet. 2. 3. 5. Rom 9. 22.*

That any of us should say, *murder* and other like *vices* come from God, and are appointed by him, is injurious sophistication. Wee hold not God to bee the principall cause or author of any evill as it is sin, but only of evill as it is condign punishment for sin, according to *Isa. 45. 7. Amos 3. 6.* Concerning *murder*, and other like actions, we distinguish between the action as it is naturall, and as it is morall. All actions as they are meere naturall, are of God: for *in him we live, and move, and have our being, Act. 17. 28.* without him no man can move his hand to smite his neighbour. As they are morall Gods providence concerning them is twofold: for as they are vicious and sinfully done, God doth them nor, but suffereth them so to bee done: as they have in them respect of justice and punishment, so God doth, appointeth, commandeth them to bee done: As, the defiling of *Dauids* Concubins, being considered in the sinfulness of it, proceeded from *Absholons* wicked lust, and *Achitophels* wicked counsell, *2 Sam. 16. 21, 22.* thus God did it not, but suffered it to be done. But considering it as a punishment or chastisement for *Dauids* sin, the Scripture telleth us, that God took *Dauids* wives and gave them to *Absholon*, and God did this thing, *2 Sam. 12. 11, 12.*

The murdering of the Israelites by the Assyrians, of the Jewes by the Babylonians, was a very sinfull action done by these Heathens; and thus God suffered them to doe it: But as it was a just punishment for his peoples iniquity, God sent those heathens against the hypocriticall nation,

on, Jsa. 10. 5, 6. God caused the Jewes to fall by the Sword, hee made Jerusalem desolate, hee himselſe fought againſt them with an outſtretched hand he delivered them into the hand, of *Nebuchadnezzar*; he prepared deſtroyers againſt them, he gave them into the hands of thoſe that fought their life: the Babylonians were his Servants, whom hee ſent and tooke and brought againſt the Land; though thoſe Hea- thens for their iniquitie in doing this, were afterward puniſhed, Jer. 19. 7, 8. & 21. 5. 7. & 22. 7. 25. & 25. 9. 13. Other examples many are in the Scriptures, how theſe actions which men did moſt ſinfully, God did the ſame actions by thoſe evil men, moſt juſtly: either for Judgement upon Reprobates, or for chaſtiſement and mercy unto his choſen.

They inveigh againſt us, as teaching that God decreed that Adam could not but ſinne; that God commanded him not to ſinne, and yet decreed that hee ſhould not ſinne. Page 5.

Answer. They proceed in wronging in us. Wee teach not that God decreed ſin ſhould be done, otherwiſe then by ſuffering it to be done. He never decreed either to doe ſin, or to command it to be done, or to approve it being done. Neither did any decree of God force Adam to ſinne; he might have avoided ſinning if he had would: but hee would not continue in obedience, he ſinned willingly.

Further, they feigne us to ſay, that though God by his revealed will com- Page 5.
manded Adam not to ſin, yet in his ſecret will he decreed hee ſhould ſinne.

Anſw. God neither openly nor ſecretly decreeth or willeth ſinne, as ſinne: for hee is not a God that hath pleaſure in wickedneſſe, *Pſalme* 54. They keepe their wont therefore in calumniating us. Alſo they erre in reſuſing the diſtinction betweene Gods revealed and ſecret will, where- by wee underſtand not two wills in God, but one and the ſame will; partly revealed, partly concealed from us, and ſecret according to *Deut.* 29. 29. By his revealed will or commandments God would have Abraham to kill his Sonne, *Gen.* 22. by his ſecret will (not then revealed to Abraham, but afterward) he would not have him killed.

They goe on and would prove, that God did neither decree, nor lay Page 7.
any neceſſity on Adam to tranſgreſſe. But they labour in the wind, and would prove that which wee confeſſe, yet in their prooſe lurketh error, for they affirme, that God left not Adam unfurniſhed with any thing that might ſupport him in that eſtate in which hee created him. For this they bring no word of God, but broach their own fancies. Adam was unfurniſhed of Gods gracious helpe to ſupport him when hee was tempted: for want of it, hee willingly yeelded unto Satan: by it, hee might and would

would have resisted all tentations; even as the elect Angels having this grace, are supported so as they shall never fall. *Adam* indeed was so furnished of God, that no power or fraud of Satan could have vanquished him, unless hee himselve would voluntarily yeeld: which hee did, and therefore had no excuse for his sinne. But God (if he had pleased) could have so confirmed his will in good, could so have supported him with grace in tentation, that his will should not at all have declined to evill. This God did not, because so it pleased him; and he was not bound to give *Adam* more grace, then that, which hee had bestowed on him: which was so great, that no power of Devils could have prevailed, if the man had not willingly fallen.

Page 10,
11.

They proceed to manifest two things; First, of *Adams* state, viz. that God could not make him otherwise then hee made him, that is mutable, able to obey his precepts; but not unchangeably good.

Answ. Not to reason of things too high for us, how God could have made man: I grant that men and Angels, and all creatures are changeable: and that *Adam* was able to obey all Gods commandements, if hee had would; but this proveth not that hee was furnished with all things that might support him in that good estate: for he had not speciall grace from God to stablish his will in good; which the Lord could have done, and then *Adam* had not sinned: Whereas they adde, God did not decree and force him to sinne, wee say the same, and they sinfully wrong us to impute such blasphemy unto us.

2. The second thing they would manifest is, That many things be done against the will of God.

Answ. This as it is set downe is false; for it was the will of God to suffer *Adam* to fall, else he had not fallen: and God willingly suffereth all the sinnes done under the Sunne; for if hee would not suffer them, the creatures could not doe them; But understanding by Gods will his commandement, or his approbation; so it is true, that too many things are done against Gods will, and this they need not goe about to prove, for none (I thinke) denyeth it.

Page 13.

But they scoffe at the distinction between the action and the sinne of the action, and call it merely a fabulous riddle; and say, the subtilty of the riddle is this, that sinne is nothing: whereupon they presently inferre that malefactors are punished for nothing.

Answ. Had they not a better faculty in deriding then in disputing, they would not have called it a fabulous riddle. I have before proved that all actions of men as they are naturall, all motions inward or outward are of God, *Acts* 17. 28. Again, I have proved that the actions

ons of Affliction, being, as it were, the will of God did them, but wicked and sinful as men perform them: therefore the action, and the intention, are rightly and mutually distinguished; seeing Gods hand is in the work, but man is in the sin. These are no substantial things, as actions, seeing all things were made by God, John 1. 3. but intentions were made: it is a great quality, involving the good things that God made, and corrupting these actions. And this though finite be infinitely wronging, yet it is no substantial thing. This is finished in time: that is as though, man, in doing contrary to the will of God; be in perfect rebellion, so that his rebellion is finite from Adam, which will have, perforce, some end, as sickness, or sickness, or what must needs be remedied. Their interest, that they which hold Gods will to be in opposition to their sin, hold him to be the author of sin, is stayed and not approved: we know God was the author of the death of Sodom, Gen. 19. 13. partly to try and humble them, partly to provide for the chastity, Psa. 135. 17. 19. Gen. 19. 13. he was not the author of the sin committed in sending him; that was of the Sodomites, moved with envy, Heb. 7. 9.

They charge Mr. Mose with irreverence, and large blasphemy, for ascribing to the providence of God, whatsoever be, to men attributed to fortune: their reason is this, *non ratione, sed, instinctu fortune th. Evidentia deinde aliter, et non ratione, sed, instinctu fortune th.* Page 15, 16.

Ans. First, they wonder from whence, and blaspheme it: Gods providence extendeth further than to such things as he himself is author and doer of: he extendeth to all the most horrible crimes in the World, which he willingly suffereth to be done, and provideth in what manner and measure he will suffer them to be done, and by his wisdom knoweth to bring good out of the worst and most sinful deed: neither have been removed to him: If God had not given Satan leave to tempt, could he have tempted? God had not left him to himself: was not Gods providence in this most horrible crime when he seduced his fathers Vices, setting Sodom to do it, and in the manner of it, before all Israel, and before the Sunne, 2 Sam. 12. 11, 12. Gods providence suffered Shimei to curse David, and David, his providence kept him from killing him, Gen. 32. 2. 6. To conclude, it is more mooving to see, and to see the lines to long Gods providence in any the least thing or action, than to see good or evil.

But these men inferre some matter, asking, whether any thing may be spoken more reverently of the nature of God, or more arrogantly of his word, See above 19.

would have resisted all tentations; even as the elect Angels having this grace, are supported so as they shall never fall. *Adam* indeed was so furnished of God, that no power or fraud of Satan could have vanquished him, unless hee himselfe would voluntarily yeeld: which hee did, and therefore had no excuse for his sinne. But God (if he had pleased) could have so confirmed his will in good, could so have supported him with grace in temptation, that his will should not at all have declined to evill. This God did not, because so it pleased him; and he was not bound to give *Adam* more grace, then that, which hee had bestowed on him; which was so great, that no power of Devils could have prevailed, if the man had not willingly fallen.

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Ans. Had they not a better faculty in deriding then in disputing, they would not have called it a fabulous riddle. I have before proved that all actions of men as they are naturall, all motions inward or outward are of God, Acts 17. 28. Again, I have proved that the actions

ons; of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, were just and holy actions as God did them, but wicked and sinfull as men performed them; therefore the action, and the sinne of action, are rightly and needfully distinguished; seeing Gods hand is in the one, but not in the other. That sinne is no substantiall thing, is plaine, seeing all things were made by God, *John* 1. 2. but sinne hee never made, it is a vitious quality infecting the good things that God made, and corrupting their actions. And thus though sinne be not simply nothing, yet it is no substantiall thing. Their definition of sinne, that it is a thought, word, or deed contrary to the will of God; is no perfect definition, for there is an hereditary sinne from *Adam*, which all have, before they can either doe, or speake, or thinke, of which point we are to treat anon. Their inference that they which hold God to be the author of the deed which is sinne, hold him to be the author of sinne, is denied and before disproved: we know God was the author of the deed of sending *Joseph* into *Egypt*; partly to try and humble *Joseph*, partly to provide for *Jacobs* Family, *Psal.* 105. 17. 19. *Gen.* 45. 78. yet was hee not author of the sinne committed in sending him; that was of the Patriarkes, moved with envy, *Acts* 7. 9.

They charge *M. Knox* with wide-wandering, and large blasphemy, for ascribing to the providence of God, whatsoever the *Eibnicks* attributed to fortune; their reason is this, who knoweth not, that unto fortune the *Eibnicks* ascribe all perverse and pestilent wickednesse? Page 15.
16.

Ans. Herein they wander from the truth, and blaspheme it: Gods providence extendeth further then to such things as hee himselfe is author and doer of; it extendeth to all the most horrible sinnes in the World, which he willingly suffereth to be done, and provideth in what manner and measure hee will suffer them to be done, and by his wisdom knoweth to bring good out of the worst and most sinfull deed: could *Adam* have been tempted to sinne, if God had not given *Satan* leave to tempt? could hee have fallen if God had not left him to himselfe? was not Gods providence in *Aboloms* horrid sinne when he defiled his Fathers Wives, seeing God foretold it, and in the manner of it, before all *Israel*, and before the Sunne, *2 Sam.* 12. 11, 12. Gods providence suffered *Shimeis* sinne when hee cursed *David*; his providence kept *Abimilech* from sinning in defiling *Sarah*, *Gen.* 20. 3. 6. To conclude, it is neere unto Atheisme and Epicurisme to deny Gods providence in any the least thing or action, be it good or evil.

But these men inferre worse matter, asking whether any thing may be spoken more repugnant to the nature of God, or contrary to his word, &c. then to

say that God punish the man with hell torment, for doing those things which he himselfe had predestinated, ordained, decreed, determined, appointed, willed and compelled him to doe, and that which a man cannot choosē, but must needs doe by the force and compulsion of his predestination.

Answer. Bold calumniators, which would make the world beleewe wee say such things as we abhorre to think: in how many books might they have seen these things denyed and refuted? Wee teach that sinne is suffered of God, not done by him, nor decreed, willed, commanded, much lesse compelled: all that sinne (whether men or Devils) sinne voluntarily, of their owne will, for which they might all in justice bee damned. God tempteth no man to evill, much lesse forceth or compelleth any to evill, *Jam. 1. 13.* So they answer unto, and would refuse their own fictions.

Page 17.
18.

They affirme that we say, *whatsoever God foreseeth he willeth, and it cannot but come to passe*: whereto they answer, *that God foreseeth all things, good and evill, but he willeth only good: and though he fore-knoweth all things, yet all things come not to passe therefore of necessity.*

Answer. They still dally and deceive by generall and ambiguous termes. If they understand by Gods will, his permissive will, or willing sufferance; so wee say all things good or evill come to passe by his will: but if they meane Gods effective or approving will, so wee hold that he willeth nothing but good. The second wee teach not, that all things therefore come to passe because God fore-knoweth them: his fore-knowledge imposeth no necessity on things: but withall wee teach, that whatsoever God fore-knoweth shall be, that must needs bee, else his knowledge should not be certaine and infallible: but they come to passe by other causes then his bare fore-knowledge. These distinctions observed, their reasons deduced from Scripture are soone taken away.

They plead, that *God foreseeth the death of a sinner, and the cause thereof, viz. his wickednesse; but willeth it not; as Ezek. 18. 32. and 33. 11. I will not the death of a sinner, but that he returne and live. Christ fore-saw the destruction of Jerusalem, yet he willed it not, for he wept, &c. Matthew 23. 37.*

Answer. They doe not well to shuffle together, Death, and wickednesse the cause of it: wickednesse God villeth permissively, suffering it to be done: Death he willeth effectively, insisting it on obstinate sinners. Secondly, they erre in denying absolutely that God willeth the death of a sinner, else how could God judge the world? To kill for sinne is

a worke of justice, as to pardon sinne is a work of mercy, God willeth his owne justice and worke thereof, who but he createth the evill of punishment? *Esa.* 45. 7. *Amos* 3. 6. Who but he prepareth death and hell for sinners? *Matthew* 25. 41. and did hee doe this against his will? The Scripture in plaine words saith of *Elies* wicked Sonnes; *They bearkened not, &c. because the Lord would slay them,* 1 *Sam.* 2. 25. Whereas therefore *Ezekiel* saith, *God would not sinners death,* it cannot bee meant absolutely or in all respects (for then it should contradict the other Scripture) but conditionally or comparatively: * if sinners repent he willeth not their death; .or he willeth not their death so much as their repentance. But if the wicked turne not, then (the Prophet saith) *God whetteth his sword, bendeth his bow, and prepareth for him the Instruments of death,* *Psal.* 7. 13, 13. So Christ would not *Jerusalem*s destruction, if they would have come to him; but because they would not, hee would make it desolate, as was foretold, *Dan.* 9. 26. 27.

* So it is explained in *Ezek.* 28.

They would prove that all things come not to passe of necessity, *herefore* to wit, because of Gods fore-knowledge. Page 18.

Ans. They labour in vaine to prove that they need not, Gods fore-knowledge layeth no necessity that the thing must bee done by force or compulsion: Yea Gods will alwayes layeth no such necessity, seeing he willeth some things conditionally, which are not effected unlesse the condition be observed, as he would a sinners life, or death not conditionally, if he returne to God: he would the destruction of *Niniveh*; but conditionally, except they repented. Other things God willeth absolutely, and those must needs come to passe, for none can resist or hinder his absolute will, *Esa.* 46. 10, 11. *Job* 23. 13. *Psal.* 33. 10, 11. But forasmuch as God certainly fore-knoweth all things that shall be, whether good or evill, in this respect all things come to passe of necessity; otherwise God in his fore-knowledge might be deceived; but as necessity meaneth violence, force, compulsion; so all things are not of necessity, but many are of the voluntary will of the Creature. Therefore these adversaries deceive their Readers in answering texts of Scripture alledged: for sometimes they father untruths on us, and withall sometimes spread their errors: As when they say, *In these actions,* (namely, *Shimeis* cursing of *David*, and the like) *there were evill, namely, cursing, envie, pride, deceit,* now the controversie is (say they) *who was the first cause of this cursing, envie, pride, deceit.*

Ans. They would make controversie where none is: wee beleve that all sinne is originally from the Creature, and none from the Cre-

Page 29, ator. So when they would conclude from our Doctrine, that God should be most to be blamed, for *forcing of necessity* by his decree; Satan to tempt, and man to consent and act it: they shew themselves to be calumniators: wee doe not hold that ever any creature was, is, or ever shall be *forced of necessity by Gods decree*, to consent unto; or to act any sin.

And here let the prudent Reader observe, how these men themselves can distinguish when they are driven to it: for (in Page 24, 25.) they confesse God made them that are now Divels, & continueth the life of, and being of men and Devils: alio in (in Page 26.) that these Devils and men (the instruments that act wickednesse) are good *as they are from God*, yet the actions (they say) of those instruments, the sins cannot, be good from God.

The first is true, that Devils and men were Gods good creatures; the second, (that God continueth their life and being) is also true, but imperfect; they should have added their *moving* also; for so wee are taught, that in him *wee live, and move, and have our being*, Acts 17. 28. Why said they not that God continueth their moving also? Was it because they saw all our actions are motions, and therefore in some respect are also of God? But this they baulke for advantage to their errors. Their third assertion is partly false, and partly fraudulent: Fraud it is to confound *actions* and *sinnes*, as if they were all one, and admitted to distinction (which the Anabaptists call a *turning device*.) False it is that the *actions* of those instruments *cannot be good from God*: for whatsoever is from God is good; and all actions as they are *interly* naturall, are from God in whom we live and move. Again, all actions which God (either for tryall, chastisement, or punishment) doth by evill instruments, they are morally good in respect of God; though as they are mis-done, or sinfully done by devils and men, they are morally evill; and thus God doth them not, but onely suffereth them to be done amisse.

Page 26. Now for Gods *sending* the *Assyrians* against *Israel*, *Isaiah* 10. 5, 6. his *sending* delusions upon Reprobates, *2 Thes.* 2. 11 and the like; they say it was *not otherwise then by suffering*; and they would prove it by the devils words to Christ, *send us into the Swine*, *Marke* 5. 12. which another Evangelist setteth downe thus, *Suffer us to goe*, &c. *Mat.* 8. 31. Hereupon they inferre, that Gods *sending* is nothing but suffering in this case.

Ans. They conclude more then the Scripture teacheth; for though such *sending* be *suffering*; yet it followeth not, that such *sending* is
nothing

nothing but suffering: there is more in it then so. For the punishing of Israel by *Asher*, *Esa.* 10. was an act of justice for their sinnes: and so is the sending of delusion, in *2 7 bes.* 2. a worke of Justice; therefore a good worke. And if God did not doe these things, but onely suffered them; then the good workes of Justice are done by wicked men and devils; and the Devils shall bee good doers, and God a sufferer onely of good to be done. The proof they make shew of from comparing the Evangelist, sheweth what strangers they are in the booke of God. When sundry Prophets or Apostles repeate the same things, it is usually with some change and difference of words: not that different words are equivalent, one meaning neither more nor lesse then another, but of different meaning, and larger extent oftentimes, to teach further matter. That which one Evangelist calleth *Fasting*, *Marke* 2. 19. another calleth *Mourning*, *Matth.* 9. 15. yet are not these two one, though often joyned together. To drinke with the drunken, *Mat.* 24. 49. which is explained; To drinke and to bee drunken, *Luke* 12. 45. two speeches are not alwayes the same; for a man may drinke with the drunken, and yet not be drunken himselfe: in *2 Chron.* 5. 4. the Levites tooke up the Arke: *1 Kings* 7. 3. it is said, the Priests tooke up the Arke; this expoundeth the former; for though all Priests were Levites, yet all Levites were not Priests. In *1 Chron.* 19. 19. the Syrians would not helpe the Ammonites: in *2 Sam.* 10. 19. it is said, they feared to help them; yet are not these words of equall force and extent: for some may bee unwilling to helpe though they bee not afraid. The Prophet saith, rejoice greatly O daughter of Sion, *Zach.* 9. 9. the Apostle alledgeth it, *Fear not* O daughter of Sion, *Job.* 12. 15. The Prophet saith, the Gentiles shall seeke, *Esa.* 11. 10. the Apostle expoundeth it, the Gentiles shall trust, *Rom.* 15. 12. and many the like; where to make one of the words no more in force then the other, were to do open violence to the Scripture.

And that all may see that *sending* is more then *suffering*, the very same History which they alledge doth convince them; for the same devils at the same time desired *Christ* that he would not send them away out of the Country, *Mat.* 5. 10. but in *Luke* 8. 31. it is said, they desired that he would not command them to goe out into the deepe. If these mens reasons be of weight, *sending* is no more then *suffering*: this reason hath as much weight, that *sending* is no lesse then *commanding*. Now betwixt *commanding* and *suffering* themselves (I suppose) will confesse there is sometimes a great difference. But why doth the one Evangelist say



A Censure upon a Dialogue

send us; and another suffer us? Not to confound these two as one, but to teach us two things. First, that as it was the Devils sinfull and malicious desire to hurt the creatures, and to procure envie against Christ, in this respect he suffered them. Secondly, but as it was Christs just punishment on the covetous *Gadarens*, and tryall of them; whether they loved their Swine more then him and his gospel; in these respects Christ not only suffered, but sent the Devils into the swine; and the Devils were his Servants to doe what he would have done. The like is to be minded for Gods sending the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians* with sword to kill, and the devils with delusions to deceive the reprobates, and other the like, 1 *Kin.* 22. 19, 20. 22, 23.

This is further manifested by the example of Christs death, touching which (whatsoever the Scripture saith) these men doe deny that God determined, appointed, or decreed, that the wicked should betray or murder him, otherwise then by suffering them; which if they spake in respect of the sinne onely, wee would grant, but being meant of the actions done, it is against the expresse Scriptures, which say the Jewes took and crucified him, being delivered by the determinate Counsell and fore-knowledge of God, *Act.* 2. 23. and that both Gentiles and Israelites were gathered together for to do whatsoever Gods hand & his counsel predestinated, (or fore-determined) to be done, *Act.* 4. 27, 28. Now Gods Counsell and Predetermination, that a thing should be done, is more then bare permission, and his hand being in it, sheweth him to bee an Agent in this worke. God out of his love sent and gave his Sonne for us, *Job.* 3. 16, 17. it pleased the Lord to bruite him, and put him to griefe, *Esa.* 53. 10. and Christ laid downe his life of himselfe, no man tooke it from him, *John* 10. 18. he powred out his soule unto death, *Esa.* 53. 12. he offered up himself a sacrifice for our sinnes, through the eternall Spirit, *Heb.* 7. 27. and 9. 14. These and the like sayings in Scripture, teach us more of God in Christs death, then a bare suffering. Gods good hand was in it for our redemption, and not onely the wicked hands of them that sinfully crucified him.

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Whereas they tell us, *Christ might have bene slaine without sinne, for God might have appointed some to sacrifice Christ, as he did Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, &c.* They speake too presumptuously in Gods matters; will they teach him another or a better way to effect his own purposes, then himselfe hath chosen? But what would they inferre upon it? if God had decreed that Christ should have bene slaine by holy Angels; they would not then deny (I suppose) but God should bee an agent in his
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Sons death. Now that God decreed hee should bee slain by evill Angels, and hands of wicked men; and his Decrees and Counsels mult stand, *Psal. 33. 11.* his predictions mult needs bee fulfilled, *Act. 1. 16.* is hee not therefore an agent in Christs death? Shall hee bee restrained from using any of his creatures to doe his good worke, because they through their own corruption and malice doe it (and cannot but do it) amisse? Or shall their mis-doing which is in them voluntary, and not caused of God, be imputed to him? Let men speak and think of God with more sobriety: and though our dulnesse cannot comprehend how Gods good hand can bee in the evill actions of wicked men, and hee not partaker of their sin: yet let us not deny that which God plainly teacheth, but rather lay our hand on our mouth, and confesse wee have uttered that wee understood not, things too wonderfull for us which wee knew not, *Job 40. 4. and 42. 3.*

The last reason which they pretend to answer, is such as dazzleth the adversaries eyes. The Scripture saith, the Jewes could not believe, because bee (the Lord) *blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, that they should not see, nor understand, and bee converted and healed, Joh. 12. 39. 40.* Also the Lord saith, *I will harden Pharaohs heart; and bee shall not hearken unto you; that I may lay my hand upon Egypt, &c. Exod. 7. 3, 4.* They answer, to the first, that by comparing *Esai. 6. 9. Mat. 13. 14. &c. Act. 28. 26. &c.* It is manifest, that they winked with their eyes lest they should see: for which cause God gave them up to that reprobate sense. To the latter they answer, That Pharaoh hardened his (owne) heart, *Exod. 9. 34. and God hardened his heart; and (so the hearts of the wicked) by giving them up to Satan (who worketh hardnesse of heart against God) and to their own hearts hardnesse, and lusts, to vile affections, and to reprobate mindes, Psal. 81. 11. and Rom. 1. 24. 26. 28.* Page 32.

Answer. That the Jewes winked and would not see, that Pharaoh hardened his own heart and would not let Israel go, is true. That for these causes God gave them up to their own lusts, &c. and to Satan, is also true. Thus farre wee agree, but to the force of our reason they answer nothing at all. For in these workes of *blinding and hardning*, there is more then Gods bare permission: they did it, and God did it; they sinfully, but God righteously, justly rewarding their sinne. And thus the enemy condemneth himselfe. For hee that for sin inflicteth punishment, doth a good work of justice, and suffereth it not onely to bee done: but God for sin blinded the eyes, and hardened the hearts Page 68.

of

of the Jews and Egyptians; therefore in blinding and hardning God was a doer (as a iust Judge) and not a sufferer onely, as while ere they pleaded. Between these two there is great difference. The Greekes tooke *Sosthenes* and beat him before *Gallioes* judgement seat: here *Gallio* suffered them onely, caring for none of those things, *Act. 18. 15, 16, 17.* *Paul* and *Silas* were beaten and imprisoned by the Magistrates commandement, *Act. 16. 22, 23.* here the Magistrates not onely suffered, but were agents also in their beating and imprisoning, though they did it by other wicked mens hands. So God when hee commandeth Satan to go and deceive, or harden wicked sinners, *1 King. 22. 22.* When hee giveth sinners up to a reprobate minde, *Rom. 1. 24. 26. 28.* then God deceiveth, God hardneth in iust judgement, and doth not onely suffer these things. When the Judge delivereth an evill doer to the Officer, and the Officer calls him into prison, *Luk. 12. 58.* the Judge doth this by the Officer. So God is the Judge, hee delivereth evill doers to Satan to bee their deluder, their tormentor, their gaoler: hee giveth them up to blindness, hardness, reprobate minds; and these are works of his iustice, which Satan and evill men execute most sinfully. Christ saith, *hee came into this world for judgement, that they which see not might see, and that they which see might bee made blind, Job. 9. 39.* Now in what manner God blindeth and hardneth sinners, it is not in man to declare, for his judgements are unsearchable, and his wayes past finding out, *Rom. 11. 33.* But they that for his judgements would make God the authour of sin, erre on the one hand: and they that ascribe unto him herein but a bare permission, erre on the other hand. Godlineffe will teach us to beleve and rest in that which the Scriptures teach: though it passe our reach and capacity how God in his wisdome doth these things. Hitherto of *Predestination.*

2 Of Election.

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36.

THEY proceed to speake of Election; where after they have set down (as they think good themselves) what our opinion is, they propound their own doctrine, viz. *That Christ came to cure all men of their sinnes, but with a bitter medicine, that is, that wee must deny our selves, take up his crosse, and follow him. So many as refuse to take this medicine, cannot bee cured; but such as receive it are cured. Again, That they*
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are elected who do put on Christ, and that our election dependeth upon this condition, according to the Scriptures, the Lord chooseth to himself a righteous man, & they that were not Gods people shall be his people, &c. if they seek righteousness by faith, & these are the elect according to the election of Grace. Election (they say) is not of particular persons, but of quality: all persons are Gods generation; and those persons in whom hee findeth faith and obedience of his meere mercy, those persons hee electeth to salvation, for the quality hee findeth in them; which hee himselfe hath wrought by his word and spirit, which they might have resisted, but did not, but submitted to the righteousness of God; and this is Gods purpose of election before the World was, and these are they whom God knew or acknowledged before. And for Gods decree they feigne it to be thus, I will cause all Nations to be taught (by Christ) and so many of them (being all called) as doe not behave themselves as they ought, I will cause to be punished, and the rest I will blesse and make happy. This is the doctrine of blind Odgers the guide; and ignorant Ereunetes the Searcher answereth, I doe thinke it so to have been.

Answer. Very ignorantly and erroneously have they propounded their opinion, with some truth mixing much error, that the blind may lead the blind into the ditch. It is true, that such men as they describe are Gods elect: it is also true, that God hath wrought these good things in them by his Word and Spirit. But false it is, that our election dependeth upon this condition; False, that election is not of particular persons, but of quality. False it is (and thwarting their former speech) that God electeth those persons in whom hee findeth faith and obedience: for before election no such persons are to be found among all the Sons of Adam. False it is, and an abusing of the Scripture, to say, that God chooseth to himselfe a righteous man. False it is to say, (in this matter of election) that all persons are Gods generation. Briefly, the whole tenour of their description of Gods election is perverse and erroneous.

For first, no Scripture telleth them that our election to life, dependeth on this condition, of our Faith and obedience. Faith and obedience are the effect (not the cause) of our election, and are conditions following election, not going before it; as it is written, as many as were ordained to eternall life beleevd, Acts 13. 48. teaching that Gods ordaining to life (that is his election) went before their beleevd; but these men invert the order of God, and would teach, that so many as beleevd (before-hand) were ordained to life.

Secondly, the Apostle teacheth us, that whom God fore-knew, hee also did predestinate to be conformed to the Image of his Sonne, Romans 8.

29. so that our conformity to the image of Christ, our faith, obedience, bearing of his Crosse, &c. is that whereunto (not that wherefore) God predestinated or chose us. This is most apparent by the words following, *whom hee did predestinate, them hee also called, and whom he called, them he also justified, and whom he justified, them hee also glorified, Rom. 8. 30.* So then, glorifying commeth after justifying; justifying after calling; calling after predestinating or choosing unto life: and these graces are not before predestination, or causes of it, as these adversaries would perswade.

Thirdly, it is written, that *God hath chosen us in Christ, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy, and be predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ, Ephef. 1. 4. 5.* so that our holinesse, and our adoption are things that we are chosen unto, and do follow election; but are not the things going before, and which wee are chosen for, because God findeth them in us.

Fourthly, Paul teacheth us, that *God justifieth the ungodly that beleeve in him, Rom. 4. 5.* now those whom he justifieth, he did choose and predestinate before, *Rom. 8. 30.* therefore he chose the ungodly, the unrighteous; that they may be made godly, righteous and holy, through his grace. But these men say, *God chooseth a righteous man,* whereas the Scripture saith, *There is none that doeth good, no not one, there is none that understandeth, none that seeketh after God, Rom. 3. 10, 11.* so that if God should choose the righteous onely, none at all should be chosen. They say, it is according to the Scripture, but they shew no Scripture that accordeth to their saying. If they intend, *Psal. 4. 3. the Lord hath set apart (or separated) him that is godly for himselfe;* (for I know not else what Scripture else they should meane) they are deceived and would deceive; for *David* speaketh not there of his election to life, but of his being set apart to the glory of the Kingdom of Israel, which his enemies would have turned to ignominy: neither useth hee the word of *election*, but of *setting apart* (or *separating after a marvellous sort*) which word is used for Gods administration towards his people, after they are elected and called, as appeareth in *Exod. 33. 16. & 11. 7.* yea, and it is applied to brute beasts, which are not partakers of the election that wee treat of, *Exodus 9. 4.*

Fifthly, *Moses* teacheth Israel, that God gave them not inheritance in the Earthly Canaan (much lesse in the Kingdome of Christ) for their righteousness or uprightness of their hearts, *Dent. 9. 4, 5, 6.* hee telleth them, *Because God loved their fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, Dent.*

4.37. But these men would perswade, that because men deny themselves, take up the crosse and follow Christ, (that is, because they are righteous and holy) therefore God chooseth them to inherit Heaven.

Sixtly, Because all men are by nature, or creation, the off-spring, or generation of God, *Acts* 17. 28. these men would conclude, that election to eternall life, is not of particular persons, but of quality: as if our first naturall birth, and our second supernaturall birth were all one: or, because all persons are of God by creation, therefore no persons (or all persons) are of God by regeneration, and by election. But it is palpable error to confound things so different.

They proceed in their error, and say, *All men to whom the Gospel is preached, were elected to salvation in Christ; not actually, for they could not be actually chosen before they had actually any being, but in the eternall purpose of God upon the condition afore-spoken.* Page 42.

Answer. Their first assertion is against truth, against reason. It is not true that all to whom the Gospel is preached; were elected to salvation in Christ, no Scripture saith so: wee are taught the contrary by *Acts* 13. 46, 48. where the Gospel was preached to many, but all that heard it were not elected to salvation; for as many as were ordained (that is, elected) to eternall life beleaved; but all beleaved not; therefore all were not ordained (or elected) to life. Against reason it is to say, all are elected; for election implieth a leaving or refusing of some; where all are taken, no choice is made. Their second saying is, *all were elected not actually; because they had no being; but in Gods eternall purpose, the action is in God, not in man; and his purposes or decrees are his actions; and if before the foundation of the world, God elected us in Christ, as the Apostle teacheth, Ephes. 1. 4 then were wee actually chosen before we had naturall being, though Gods choice had not effect in us till we had being: But whereas they adde, upon the condition afore-spoken, it is an error before refuted.*

Object. But of the elect Paul saith, *I was without Christ, without God in the World, Ephes. 2. 1. so they were not then really and particularly elected.*

Answer. Howsoever they change their termes, their reason is not good. They were not without God or Christ in respect of Gods election, which he did before the world was made, *Ephes. 1. 4.* but in respect

respect of their sinfull estate and unbeliefe, before they were called, they were without God.

2. Object. But the Apostle saith, After yee beleeved, yee were sealed with the holy spirit of promise, &c. *Ephes. 1. 13, 14.*

Ans. What of this? Could they not be elected of the Father before they were sealed by the holy Ghost? Gods election was before all time, *Ephesians 1. 4.* their calling and sealing by the Spirit, was in time; but they would confound election and sealing ignorantly.

3. Object, *Rom. 9. 25. 1 Pet. 2. 10. I will call them my people which are not my people, &c. If we were actually, really and particularly chosen before the creation, then were we also Gods people, and could not at any time be said not to be his people.*

Ans. Here againe they confound Gods election with his calling, which is the manifestation of his election by the effect. Gods predestination is before his calling, *Rom. 8. 30.* So though they were not his people by calling, they were his by election. It is evident by *Acts 18. 10.* that many in Corinth were Gods people before they were called or converted: *Jeremie* was knowne, sanctified and ordained to bee a Prophet, before hee was formed or borne, *Jeremiah 1. 5.* and can wee thinke hee was not then also chosen to life?

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They say, *The Apostles meaning is, that wee are first particularly chosen when wee receive or put on Christ; for God onely chooseth where hee findeth faith and obedience to the Gospell; and rejecteth where these are wanting.* Herein they wrong the Apostles, who neither spake nor meant, as these men speake. It is shewed before from *Acts 13. 48.* that election goeth before faith; so these men erre that put it after; they pervert the order set downe in *Rom. 8. 30.* whiles they make men to bee first called, justified, glorified; and then predestinated unto life: They neglect *Pauls* doctrine, that God chose us before the world was, that we should be holy: and teach new doctrine of Antichrists devising, that God chose us because we were holy. But to follow them in their doctrine; God chooseth none (they say) but where hee findeth faith. Where doth God find this, seeing he hath shut up all in unbeliefe? *Rom. 11. 32.* Faith is not of our selves, it is the gift of God, *Ephes. 2. 8.* so then he findeth not faith in his elect, but giveth them faith; and if they say some will not beleeve, and them God rejecteth;

jecteth; some will beleeve, and them God electeth; I demand whence have any this will to beleeve? If they answer, of themselves and their owne power; the Apostle telleth us the contrary; *It is God that worketh in us both to will, and to doe, of his good pleasure, Phil. 2. 13.* Now God giveth not all men this will to beleeve and obey: for some cannot beleeve, *1 Joh. 12. 39.* Some are reprobate concerning faith and every good worke, *2 Tim. 3. 8. Tit. 1. 16.* If God would give all men a like grace, he could make all men willing to beleeve and obey; but this he doth not, for in some he giveth a new heart and a new spirit, and takes away the stony heart out of the flesh, *Ezek. 36. 26.* in other some he hardeneth the heart, that they cannot beleeve, nor turne unto him, *John 12. 39. 40.* The mystery of his Gospel God *hides* from some, and *revealeth* to other some: even so, for so it seemed good in his sight, *Matth. 11. 25, 26.* Hee hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth, *Rom. 9. 18.*

By this which hath been said, all that love the truth may see, that all men to whom the Gospel is preached, are not elected to salvation in Christ, as these corrupters of the Gospel teach: neither can all men beleeve, or obey, because God gives them not such grace. Some refuse indeed willingly, and they perish justly: some (who naturally are as bad as others, and have hearts of stone, not of flesh) are changed, new hearts are given them, faith and holiness are wrought in them, and so they are brought unto salvation whereunto they were elected. Why God changeth the heart of some, and not of other some, when he could if he pleased change all: is not a question to be disputed of, *Rom. 9. 19, 20.* Let it suffice us that God oweth us nothing, except death for our sinnes. His grace is his owne, he may give it where he will, and none have cause to complaine: If God have given grace to any of us, let us praise him for his mercy: when we see others left without grace, let us reverence him for his unsearchable judgements.

The rest of their discourse about election, though there be many abuses they offer to the Scriptures, which might justly be taxed; yet because they none of them doe prove these mens universall election, not disprove our faith, I think needlesse to reply unto.

3. *Of Reprobation.*

Page 58. **T**Ogether with Election, they treat of Reprobation, badly as before; Our Doctrine they pretend to be thus, *They say, God hath reprobated some, and the greatest number, and that before they were borne, and had done evill; for whom there was never meanes of salvation, because God would have them perish, for that was his good pleasure.*

Answ. We hold not (as they would beare the world in hand) that God would have men to perish, because it is his good pleasure, but because of their sins he destroyeth them, his justice so requiring. Neither do we hold that God ever decreed to punish his reasonable creature, without respect of the sinne thereof deserving punishment. Yet was their punishment decreed before they were borne, or had done evill. For God foreseeing their wickednesse, appointed them to wrath before they acted it, though he inflicteth not punishment till they be sinners. And this the Scripture teacheth, as in *Jude, verse 4.* there are certaine men crept in, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation. If they were ordained to it before of old, then was it before they were borne. The same is confirmed by *Rom 9 11, 12, 13.* which Scripture they seeke to pervert by a longsome and erroneus exposition. Our Doctrine being thus by them mis-reported; they labour to refute their owne forgeries, not our assertions: So that they are unworthy of any reply.

4. *Of Falling away.*

Page 71. **T**He next error which they would maintaine, is, *That a man may fall from his Election, Or, that godly men which are in the true and saving grace of God, may fall away, and may lose their heavenly inheritance which they have right unto.* This Popish heresie they have not confirmed by any one Scripture, though they pervert many Scriptures for a shew to delude the simple.

Page 75. The faith which we professe, is this: that the Elect, however through Satans tentations, and their owne infirmities they are subject to fall from God and perish; yet they are kept by the power of God,

God, through faith unto salvation, 1 *Pet.* 1. 5. though they through their weaknesse sinne and fall, yet the Lord putteth under his hand, *Psal.* 37. 24. and the seed of God remaineth in them, and they cannot sinne (unto death) because they are borne of God, 1 *John* 3. 9. Though of themselves they are too ready to depart from God, yet he will not turne away from them to doe them good, but putteth his feare in their hearts, that they shall not depart from him, *Jerem.* 32. 40. so Christs sheepe shall never perish, neither shall any plucke them out of his hand, but he giveth unto them eternall life, *John* 10. 28. and the Elect cannot possibly be seduced from Christ, *Mat.* 24. 24.

They plead for their error by seven reasons.

The first is certaine Scriptures, as *Hebr.* 12. 15. *Looke lest any man faile of (or fall from) the grace of God.*

Ans. This proveth not that God will suffer his Elect to fall utterly from saving grace: but warneth them to take heed of themselves in respect of their owne frailty, and Satans subtilty. Though Gods election and foundation standeth sure, 2 *Tim.* 2. 19. yet we must make an end of our salvation with feare and trembling; and must adde vertue unto faith, and give diligence to make our Calling and Election sure, which if we doe we shall never fall, 2 *Pet.* 1. 5, 10.

Salt may lose his savour, Matih. 5.

Ans. It may, if men be seasoned but with common grace: such as God giveth to many reprobates, *Heb.* 6. 4, 5, 6. but saving grace bestowed on the Elect, is a gift and calling without repentance, *Roman.* 11. 29.

Some that have escaped the pollutions of the world, &c. may returne with the Sow to wallow in the myre, 2 *Pet.* 20. 22.

Ans. Too many indeed doe so, but they are Swine, not sheepe of Christ: they seemed to be washed by the knowledge of the Lord which they had, but their swinish nature was never changed. The Apostle in that Chapter speaketh of hypocrites and reprobates, which walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, v. 10. which are as naturall brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed; v. 12. which are mels without water, v. 17. so they never had saving grace.

Those that Christ hath bought may be damned, 2 Pet. 2. 1.

Ans. Those are such as before I spake of, which were bought of Christ by his offer of grace, and their feigned acceptance of it: but
had

had they beene indeed bought from the earth, they would have followed the Lambe, and should have beene without fault before the Throne of God, *Rev.* 14. 3, 4, 5. Had they been justified by his blood; and reconciled to God by his death; much more should they be saved by his life, *Rom.* 5. 9, 10. Had they beene of Christs sheepe, for whom he laid downe his life, he would have given them eternall life, *John* 10. 27, 28. And here note how these men would make Christs suffering vaine; for many whom (as they thinke) Christ dyed for, shall die themselves for ever. Where is now the justice of God, that punisheth the wicked themselves, and yet punished Christ for them without cause, without fruit? Such doctrine the Apottle doth abhorre, *Gal.* 2. 21.

Some may tread under foot the blood of Christ wherewith they were sanctified, &c. *Heb.* 10. 29.

Answ. Such were never sanctified otherwise then swine that were washed, whose filthy nature was never indeed changed otherwise then by counterfeysance and hypocrisie.

They that have faith and good conscience, may put it away, and make shipwracke of it; and some may leave their first faith and be damned, *1 Tim.* 1. 19. and 5. 12.

Answ. Faith is not alwayes in deed, that which it seemeth to be: There is a temporary faith, which falleth away in time of tentation, *Luke* 8. 13. a vaine dead faith, *Jam.* 2. and there is a living faith, the faith of Gods Elect, *Tit.* 1. 1. this faith never faileth utterly, for it is the seed of God, by which we are regenerate, and it remaineth in us, keeping us from sinne, *1 Job.* 3. 9.

Some written in the Booke of life may be put out, *Exod.* 32. 32, 33. *Psal.* 69. 25. 28. *Rev.* 3. 5.

Answ. Many things are spoken of God, not properly, but figuratively, and after the manner of men. So God is no way changeable, *Mal.* 3. 6. *Jam.* 1. 17. Neither doth he repent, *1 Sam.* 15. 29. yet it is said it repented him that he had made man, &c. *Gen.* 6. 6. because in destroying the world, he did as men when they repent. So God is said to blot out of his Booke those wicked which for a time seemed to themselves and to others to be written in his Booke, but after by Gods rooting them out are manifested never to have been written there, for then they should have continued there, because the gifts and calling of God are without repentance, *Rom.* 11. 29. His foundation standeth

death sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his, 2 Tim. 2. 19. But to the wicked he will professe, I never knew you, Mat. 7. 23. The talent may be taken from him that useth it not well, Mat. 25.

Ans. All that have talents, that is, gracious gifts, have not true saving grace to sanctifie those gifts, neither are they all Gods Elect. This therefore is no prooffe of the question in hand.

The Saints at Rome that were justified by faith, and had a cesse unto grace, Rom. 5. 1, 2. Yet if they continued not in the bounty of God they should be cut off, &c. Rom. 11. 22.

Ans. This and the examples following are like to the former, and teach Gods Elect to have care to continue in grace, without which there is no salvation. They teach also that hypocrites falling from God shall perish. But none truly justified and partakers of saving grace, shall perish, for God glorifieth them, Rom. 5. 9. and 8. 30. and he putteth his feare in their hearts, that they shall not depart from him, Jerem. 32. 40. and if they depart not they perish not, but are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, 1 Pet. 1. 5.

2. Their second reason is, If the Elect cannot fall out of Gods favour, Page 80. then did not all fall in Adam, and then some were never dead in sinnes, and so need not Christs redemption, &c.

Ans. An ignorant cavill; for the Apostle teacheth, that God hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world, Ephes. 1. 4. These men speake of our state before Christ.

Again, Adam and all in him fell from grace, such as they had of God in creation; but not from Christian grace, from grace of Election and Redemption, whereof they had no need before their fall, neither had they any promise of it till they were dead in sinne, Gen. 3. It is this saving grace in Christ from which the Elect can never utterly fall, and not any other grace by creation from which all men and some Angels have fallen.

3. If the Elect cannot fall from their election, then have not all sinned, and beene deprived of the glory of God, and shut up in unbeliefe, &c.

Answer. The same sophistry is in this reason that was in the former, changing the state of the question, which is onely of them that in Christ were chosen before the world was, and are by him redeemed, justified, sanctified, and shall have eternall life, Job. 10. 28. whereas these deceivers speake of men without Christ, and before they are by him redeemed.

4. *The Ephesians were Elect before the foundation of the world; Ephe. 1. Yet having forsaken their first love, if they repented not God would remove the Candlestick, &c. Rev. 2.*

Ans. This is answered in the answers to the Scriptures which they brought in their first reason. It is true the Elect without repentance, faith and perseverance cannot be saved. But all Gods Elect have from him the grace to repent, beleeve and continue in well-doing, as before is proved, so they cannot perish. But hypocrites which were among the Saints onely, but never of them, they cannot continue with the Saints; and so cannot bee saved, 1 John 2.19.

5. *If a man in Gods favour, and chosen, cannot fall out of it: then need be not, though he commit incest, adultery, murder, &c. feare falling into damnation.*

Ans. Herein they abuse Gods comfortable promises, as if men should continue in sinne that grace may abound. Farre be it. All men ought to feare falling into sinne, and the Elect feare continually, knowing their owne frailty. Our spirituall security is not carnall security: our faith is in God, not in our selves; by his power we are kept, not by our owne. He saith to his people, *The mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed, but my kindeesse shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, Esai. 54. 10.* But if by feare, they meane feare without faith, that is, despaire: wee beleeve that the Elect, though they fall into such sinnes, ought not to despaire or distrust Gods mercy: as the examples of *David, Peter, &c.* which they alledge, doe evidently confirme, *Psal. 51. Luke 22. 31, 32.*

6. *If no man Elect, can fall from his election by committing of any of these sinnes, then to what end is repentance taught? It is in vaine, if they misbe, nor can be in condemnation, &c.*

Ans. They that teach such doctrine, their religion is vaine. We beleeve as the Elect cannot perish, so neither can they continue in sinne: He that is borne of God (saith the Apostle) *committeth no sinne, 1 John 3. 9.* All that truly beleeve that they are elect, doe also beleeve and know, that by repentance, faith and abiding in Christ, they must come to the end of their election, the salvation of their soules: this is the way and meanes unto life, and without this they cannot see God.

7. *To what end are men admonished or exhorted not to receive the grace of*

of God in vaine, 2 Cor. 6. 1. Not to fall from their stedfastnesse, 2 Pet. 3. 17. &c. if they cannot fall into them? doth the Lord use words in vaine?

Answer. No, but these mens words are vaine. For God as he hath ordained men to life, hath also ordained his Lawes, exhortations, threatnings, &c. as meanes to bring them into life. He dealeth not with men as with stones, to carry them into heaven by violence, but giveth them repentance, faith, love, zeale, care and other graces; he perswadeth, moveth, draweth them to come willingly, and to continue carefully, and so at last saveth them.

In the next place, these fallers from grace, seeke to wrest the Scriptures which refute their heresie. Unto Christs words in *Mat. 24. 24.* *If it were possible they should deceive the very Elect:* They answer, that the *Elect* (namely, those that receive and obey the truth of Jesus Christ, and abide in him to the death) cannot perish.

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Answer. Great is the truth that forceth the adversaries to yeeld; this is that which we maintaine; and Christs words (*If it were possible*) prove it undeniably; and sheweth it to be impossible that the *Elect* should be deceived to lose Christ.

Object. Our controversie is whether those that be *Elect*, may fall out of it; and not whether those that abide in it can perish.

Answer. Here they would unsay that which before they said well. And the controversie they make is meere cavilling. For if it be impossible that the *Elect* should be seduced from Christ, then it is impossible that they should perish, and consequently it is impossible that they should fall from their Election.

Againe, if it be possible that they should fall from their Election, then is it possible they should perish, and possible that they should be seduced from Christ: and so our Saviours words will not stand. How greatly are these Deceivers fallen themselves, that seeke to pervert the plaine words of Christ?

Object. Many fall from their election, not by being deceived, but willingly forsake the truth, against, or after their enlightning, Heb. 6. 4. &c. and 10. 29, &c.

Answer. First, this is nothing to Christs words in *Matt. 24. 24.* Secondly, the Scriptures which they cite, say not (nor doth any Scripture say) that the *Elect* may fall from their election, either by deceit, or willingly. Thirdly, as God keepeth all his *Elect* from being deceived from Christ: so hee keepeth them from willingly

forfaking of Christ: for he putteth his feare in their hearts, that they shall not depart from him, *Jerem. 32. 40.* He stablisheth them in Christ, and anointeth them, and sealeth them, and giveth the earnest of the Spirit in their hearts, *1 Cor. 1. 12. 22.*

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Another sure prooffe of the salvation of Gods Elect, is in *John 10. 3, 4, 5, 8, 14, 15, 27, 28, 29.* This Scripture the adversary would pervert with this glosse. *That so long as they continue Christs sheepe they heare his voyce, and follow him, so long they are sure, and have safety in Gods acceptance, &c.* But if they doe evil, and will not heare his voyce, then he will repent of the good that he promised, *Jer. 18. 10, &c.*

Answer. First, that by sheepe are meant Gods Elect whom he will save, is plaine by the parable of the sheepe and goats. *Matth. 25. 33. &c.* Secondly, in *John 10.* Christ useth no such words, *So long as they continue, so long as they heare his voyce, &c.* But he plainly telleth us that the sheepe doe heare his voyces, *verse 3.* that they follow him, *v. 4.* that they will not follow a stranger, neither know they his voyce, *v. 5.* that the sheepe did not hear strangers, *v. 8.* yea, all Christs sheepe shall heare his voyce, *v. 16, 17.* and he giveth them eternall life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of his hand, or his Fathers *v. 28, 29.* How unsufferably now doe these men wrest Christs heavenly words! Thirdly, the exception which they put; *If they doe evil in his sight, and will not heare his voyce, then he will repent of the good, &c.* This exception is impossible to be found in Christs sheepe: for though through infirmity they fall, yet he casteth them not off, for the Lord upholdeth them with his hand, *Psal. 37. 24* though they stray he seeketh them up, *Psal. 119. 1-6.* He brings againe that which was driven away, binds up that which was broken, strengthens that which was sicke, &c. *Ezek. 34. 16.* He circumciseth their hearts to love the Lord, with all their heart, and with all their soule, that they may live, *Deut. 30. 6.* Such as beleeve not, and heare not his voyce, are not sheepe, but goats or swine; as Christ said to the *Jewes,* Ye beleeve not, because ye are not of my sheepe, *John 10. 26.* And how is it possible that the sheepe should perish, seeing God is greater then all, in whose hand they are? *Job. 10. 28, 29.* If Satan assaile them, the God of peace will tread him under their feet, *Rom. 16. 20.* If the world, they overcome it by their faith, for greater is he that is in them, then hee that is in the world; *1 Iob. 4. 4, and 5. 4.* if their owne corruptions rebell in them, God not onely pardoneth, but also subdueth their iniquities, *Mic. 7. 18, 19.* as he

he carried them from the wombe, so he hath promised to carry them even unto old age, and hoary haire, *Esa. 46. 3, 4.* he sanctifieth them wholly, and preserveth their whole spirit, and soule and body blamelesse unto the comming of Christ, *1 Thes. 5. 23.* If neither Satan, nor the world, nor the flesh can draw them from Christ, nothing can draw them away; but they are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, *1 Pet. 1. 5.*

Unto *Job. 13. 1.* where it is said, *Christ loved his owne unto the end;* Page 87.
they first say, that the meaning is unto the end of his life.

Answer. This is a frivolous limitation; did Christ love his owne no longer then while he lived with them in this world? Who taught these miserable men thus to limit and lessen the love of Christ? Hee himself teacheth otherwise to his people? *I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore with loving kindnesse have I drawn, &c. Jer. 31. 3.*

But it seemeth their conscience checked them when they wrote such doctrine; therefore after they say, that hee loveth this for ever, but the question is not of Christs love unto his, but of their love unto him.

Answer. This is no answer to *Job. 13. 1.* which speaketh of Christs love, not of theirs: Secondly, it is impossible that Christ should love any for ever; if they also love not him; for such as hate and forsake him, them also he will hate and forsake, and so cannot love them for ever: Thirdly, it is before proved from *Jer. 31. 3.* that those whom hee embraceth with everlasting love, hee also draweth with loving kindnesse: and being drawne, they run after him, *Song. 1. 4.* those whom he loveth first, they love him, *1 John 4. 19.* hee circumciseth their hearts to love him, *Deut. 30. 6.* hee putteth his feare into their heart, not to depart from him, *Jer. 32. 40.* and nothing can separate them from the love of Christ; *Rom. 8. 35.*

Unto *Rom. 11. 29.* where the Apostle saith, the gifts and calling of God are without repentance: they answer with their common exception, that if the Jewes abide not still in unbelieve, they shall be grafted in againe: of this the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.

Answer. They still labour to overthrow one part of the truth by alledging another: The Apostle as he saith, that if the Jewes abide not in unbelieve they shall be grafted in, for God is able, *Rom. 11. 23.* so hee further saith, that blindness in part is happened to Israel untill the fulnesse of the Gentiles be come in, and for all Israel shall be saved; as it is written, *There shall come out of Sion the deliverer, and shall turne away ungodlinesse from Jacob, &c. vers. 25, 26.* and further

ther telleth us, that as touching the election, they are beloved for the Fathers: whereof the reason is this, for the gifts and callings of God are without repentance, v. 28, 29. Therefore as the first is true, that God is able to graffe them in, so the second is also true, that he is willing, and they shall bee graffed in: as there is a condition on their parts, if they abide not in unbelieve, so there is an absolute promise on Gods part, that they shall not abide in it; because Christ the Deliverer will turne away ungodlinesse from them; that is, hee will take away their unbelieve and hardnesse, he will take away their sinnes, vers. 26, 27. which is a plaine evidence that hee loveth them, and repenteth not of his former love and promise. And as he dealeth with the elect Jewes, so doth he with all the elect Gentiles: therefore shall all Gods elect in time be converted, and their sinnes forgiven them: and so undoubtedly saved by him whose gifts and calling are without repentance.

In 1 Job. 2. 19 it is said, *They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had bene of us, they would no doubt have continued with us, &c.* This place sheweth that hypocrites and reprobates which abide not, were never of Christs Church, though crept for a time amongst them. It teacheth also, that all who are of the Saints, of Christ Sheepe and Elect, doe abide and fall not away to perdition.

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To this they make answer, first by an open slander, that we should affirme that God hath predestinated some to Salvation, and some to damnation without a condition: this we affirme not, but they fallily charge us, as I have formerly manifested.

Againe, they say wee affirme, that the elect making never so great shew of wickednesse, and walking in the wayes of Belial, are still elect, and can by no meanes fall out of their election, &c. But herein they keepe their wont; had they dealt honestly, they should have shewed who and where wee thus affirme. Wee hold that the elect after their calling are carefull to avoid all sinne, as it is written; *Wee know that whosoever is borne of God sinneth not, but hee that is begotten of God keepeth himselfe, and that wicked one toucheth him not, 1 Job. 5. 18.* And though the elect fall through infirmity, into many grievous sinnes, yet they abide not alwayes in them; but are renewed by repentance and faith in Christ; and whiles they are fallen, they are not cast off, *Psalm. 57.* neither doth God repent of his electing of them, nor utterly depriveth them of grace and his good Spirit, *Psalm. 51. Luk. 22. 31, 32. Ezek. 34. 16.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, they tell us of difference betweene persons as they are Gods generation (or creatures) and qualities good or evill. But this (howsoever they boast of the excellency of it) is to no purpose, for all men being corrupted with evill qualities, *Rom. 2, & 3.* how is it that any are changed into good, but by the power and grace of God which is effectually in all his elect? the residue abide in their finnes, because God changeth not; nor reneweth their hearts, and such he never elected unto life, but ordained them of old unto condemnation, *Jude ver. 4.* Page 91.

Lastly, they answer with absurd Sophistry, saying, that these words, *John 2. 19. they went out from us*, is meant of lying Spirits, the Antichrists in those persons who once had the spirit of truth in them: and the Apostle saith, *they were never of us*; for ver. 21. no lye is of the truth; for example, (say they) the spirit of *Hymeneus*, together with his person, was in spirituall fellowship with *Paul*, so long as hee retained faith and a good conscience; but having put away the spirit of truth, and received a lying spirit, he went out from them in that his spirit, for or because *it was never of them*, &c. Will any say that the Pope himselfe is Antichrist in respect of his person? or rather in regard of his spirit or spirituall power he hath. Therefore all that this place proveth, is, that lying spirits or Antichrists in mens persons, went out from the truth, and were never of the truth; and therefore serveth nothing to prove that the elect can never fall away. Page 92.

Answer. Was ever plaine Scripture more violently wrested by any Hereticke? The Apostle saith of the many Antichrists, *they went out from us, but they were not of us, John 2. 18, 19.* This these men will not have to be meant of their persons, but of their spirits in their persons. And what understand they by their spirits? their lyes, their errors, their spirituall power, such as the Pope hath; that is, (as before they distinguished) their wicked qualities, not their persons; for God (they say) loveth all persons, they being his generation, *Acts 17. 27.*

First, it is an error to say, God hateth not the persons of wicked men, but the evill qualities in them onely; for though he hateth no creature in respect of their creation, which was good; yet the Creature being degenerate and fallen from God, hee hateth their wickedness, and them also for it; as the Scripture plainly witnesseth, *Psal. 3. 4, 5, 6. & 11. 3.*

Secondly, it is erroneous to say, that by spirit, the Apostle meaneth

not persons but qualities, 1 John 4. 1. for himselfe sheweth his meaning, when hee saith, *because many false Prophets are gone out into the World.* So by Spirits to bee tryed, he meaneth Prophets, which came with spirituall gifts: and it is frequent in Scripture to call Subjects or persons, by the name of adjuncts or qualities in them: as, *I am against thee: O pride,* Jer. 50. 31. that is, *O thou most proud; and pride, shall stumble and fall,* verse 32. that is, the proud person; *the poverty of the Land,* 2 Kings 24. 14. that is, the poorest people. *Deceit (or Sloth) riseth not that which he tooke in hunting,* Prov. 14. 27. that is, the deceitfull man; and many the like.

Thirdly, it is from the deepnesse of Familisme, to say, that *Antichrists are not persons, but evill qualities in men;* so Christ may be holden no person, but a godly quality in us: the Apostle speaketh of the Person, for hee saith not *the lye*, but *the lye: he that denyeth that Jesus is the Christ, he is Antichrist,* 1 John 2. 22.

Fourthly, it is an absurd exposition of 1 Job. 2. 19. to put qualities for persons. Hee there speakes of Antichrists, *They went out from us;* these men will have it, evill or Antichristian qualities went out from us. But what sense then will they make of the last branch of the verse, *that they might bee made manifest, that they were not all of us?* Will they say, some Antichristian qualities were of the Apostles, though not all? The meaning is evident, that in the Church are persons some good, some bad, some elect, some reprobate: but whiles they abide and walke together in the Church, it is not manifest who are of the Church, who are not; but when the wicked and reprobates depart from the truth and Church, then it is manifest that such Apostates, though for a time in the Church, yet were never of it. So it is a sure prooffe, that Gods elect are both in and of the Church of Christ, and shall never fall away utterly from it.

5 Of Freewill.

THIS point these Adversaries handle confusedly and maliciously. Confusedly, because they shew not what they meane by Freewill, or freedome of will: whether free from compulsion; or free from bondage of sinne. Maliciously, for that they feigne the Calvinists to hold, that *the wicked are not onely left by Gods suffering, but compelled to sinne by power, &c. compelled by the power, force, and compulsion*

pulsion of Gods predestination, to commit all those wicked crimes, for which they are punished by the Magistrate, or tormented in hell, &c. and then much more doth it in goodness, as violently work all: so that the godly can neither chuse nor refuse goodness.

Answer. If these adversaries have common honesty, let them shew out of the writings of the Calvinists (as they call them) these assertions which they impute unto them. Till they doe this, let them have their name and fame among lyers and workers of iniquity. As for us, wee abhorre these doctrines of compulsion to sinne by force and power of Gods Predestination, &c. As for will in man, we know it to be a naturall faculty, still remaining, though corrupted by sin, as all other like faculties in us. Wee acknowledge it still to bee free from compulsion or constraint, for so will should be no will: But wee confesse with griefe that in respect of bondage to sinne (under which all men were sold, Rom. 7. 14.) it may rather be called Bondwill, then Freewill; for it is not free to refuse sin, until it be renewed by Christ; and so farre as it is regenerate by him, it is againe (as other powers and faculties in the Saints) freed by grace, and willeth things that are good.

Joh. 8. 34.
36.

Again, they produce (to their owne condemnation) out of *Be- Page 95.* stingius, and the dispute in Geneva, these words; *Man by evil was spoiled, not of his will, but of the soundnesse of his will; therefore that which in nature was good, in quality became evil: and Bernard teacheth, there is in us all power to will, but to will well, we had need to profit better: to will evil we are able already, by reason of our fall; the which if they would stand unto (saith this adversary) I would require no more.*

Answer. This wee will stand unto, and thereby doe evince *Odegas* to bee a blind guide, and vaine disputer, that with lyes and calumnies should disgrace his opposites. Wee grant evill Freewill (or Freewill to evill) is remaining in all naturall men: wee beleve that Freewill to good, is from grace and regeneration, and that all the Saints have it in part, as they have knowledge, faith, and other vertues here in part: which shall bee perfected in the life to come. And if no more be required, his fruitlesse dispute is at an end; and it is worthlesse labour to answer words of winde.

6 Of Originall sinne.

THE Anabaptists hold (more erroneously then the very Papists) that Originall sinne is an idle terme, and that there is no such thing

Confess. 16.
Concil,

not persons but qualities, 1 John 4. 1. for himselfe sheweth his meaning, when hee saith, *because many false Prophets are gone out into the World.* So by Spirits to bee tryed, he meaneth Prophets, which came with spirituall gifts: and it is frequent in Scripture to call Subjects or persons, by the name of adjuncts or qualities in them: as, *I am against the: O pride,* Jer. 50. 31. that is, *O thou most proud;* and *pride, shall stumble and fall,* verse 32. that is, the proud person; *the poverty of the Land,* 2 Kings 24. 14. that is, the poorest people. *Deceit (or Sloth) riseth not that which he tooke in hunting,* Prov. 14. 27. that is, the deceitfull man; and many the like.

Thirdly, it is from the deepnesse of Familisme, to say, that *Antichrists are not persons, but evill qualities in men;* so Christ may be holden no person, but a godly quality in us: the Apostle speaketh of the Person, for hee saith not *the lye*, but *the lye: he that denyeth that Jesus is the Christ, he is Antichrist,* 1 John 2. 22.

Fourthly, it is an absurd exposition of 1 Job. 2. 19. to put qualities for persons. Hee there speakes of Antichrists, *They went out from us;* these men will have it, evill or Antichristian qualities went out from us. But what sense then will they make of the last branch of the verse, *that they might bee made manifest, that they were not all of us?* Will they say, some Antichristian qualities were of the Apostles, though not all? The meaning is evident, that in the Church are persons some good, some bad, some elect, some reprobate: but whiles they abide and walke together in the Church, it is not manifest who are of the Church, who are not; but when the wicked and reprobates depart from the truth and Church, then it is manifest that such Apostates, though for a time in the Church, yet were never of it. So it is a sure prooffe, that Gods elect are both in and of the Church of Christ, and shall never fall away utterly from it.

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THE *Anabaptists* hold (more erroneously then the very *Papists*) that Originall sinne is an idle terme, and that there is no such thing

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thing as ~~men~~ intend by the word. In this their Dialogue they set the state of the Question thus; *Of the Originall estate of mankind.* Wherein they speake doubtfully and deceitfully. For mans originall estate is properly that described in *Genesis. 1.* which was by creation very good. But since the fall of *Adam*, our originall estate is through that fall, become sinfull and miserable: and is so acknowledged by *David, Psal. 51. 5.* by *John, Joh. 14. 4.* by *Paul, Rom. 5. 12.* &c. *Ephef. 2. 3.* and by *Christ himselte, Joh. 3. 3, 56.*

Notwithstanding these adversaries assume, *That no infant whatsoever, is in the estate of condemnation of hell with the wicked,* Which they thinke to prove thus. *Without sinne there is no condemnation,* *Rom. 6. 23.* *Ezek. 18. 4, 20.* *Without transgression of the Law, there is no sinne,* *1 John 3. 4.* *Rom. 5. 13.* *Therefore if Infants have transgressed no Law, there is no condemnation to them.*

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Ans. The conclusion (which implyeth that infants are not transgressors of Gods Law) is denied. The Apostle teacheth us, *That by one man sinne entered into the world, and death by sinne: and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned: and, by one mans disobedience, many were made sinners,* *Rom. 5. 12, 19* Note also how these men thwart themselves: before, when they pleaded for falling from grace, one of their reasons was, *If the Elect cannot fall out of Gods favour, then did not all fall in Adam, and then some were never dead in sinnes and trespasses, and so need not Christs redemption,* &c. Now they plead, *that no infants are sinners;* which if it be so, then many (as all that dye infants) never fell in *Adam*, nor needed Christs redemption. And so such shall either not come into heaven, or shall come thither other wayes then by *Christ*; contrary to *John 14. 6.* *Act. 4. 12.*

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Rom. 7. 1.

But these enemies dispute (against the Apostles Doctrine) thus. *Infants had no life nor being at that time,* (when the Law was given to *Adam*) and the Law is given to them that know it, and hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth. Therefore Infants having no being, and so no knowledge, nor being, then living, that law had no dominion over them.

Ans. First, this is no more against Infants then old men: for no man had life or being at that time otherwise then infants had. So *Adams* fall was for himselte alone, and no man fell with him; for no man then had life or being but he. And thus these lying spirits feare not to resist the Apostle, who saith, *Through the offence* (or

(or fall) of one, many are dead, Rom. 1. 15. By the offence of one, (judgement came) upon all men to condemnation, v. 18. By one mans disobedience, many were made sinners, v. 19. In Adam all dyed, 1 Cor. 15. 22. This Apostolick Doctrine is as contrary to the Anabaptists, as light is to darknesse.

2. They hereby weaken (if they could) the Apostles Argument in Hebr. 7. 9, 10. by Levies paying tithes to Melchisedeck in Abraham: for a man might cavill, that Levi had no life nor being at that time. But Paul saith, he was in the loynes of his father Abraham, when Melchisedeck met him. So say I, we all were in the loynes of our father Adam when he transgressed. If then Levi paid tithes when Abraham did, we all brake Gods Law when Adam did.

3. They hereby weaken (as they can) the Apostles proofs of our redemption by Christ: for he saith, that Adam is the figure of Christ that was to come: And if through the offence of one, many be dead: much more the gift by grace, by one man Jesus Christ hath abounded unto many: and, as by one mans disobedience many be made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous, Rom. 5. 14, 15, 19. Now take away the first, namely the transgression of all men in Adam; and it overthroweth the latter, to wit, the righteousness and salvation of the world by Christ.

4. They abuse the Apostles words, in Rom. 7. 1. whence they would prove, that the Law (given to Adam) was given to them (only) that knew it; namely, to Adam and his wife, not to their children which knew it not: whereas the Apostle speaking to the Romans, spake to them that knew the Law; the more to convince them: he denyeth not that God gave his Law to Adam and his posterity in his loynes; The Lord calleth those things which be not as though they were. Rom. 4. 17. He spake to Cyrus, and gave him promises, before Cyrus knew him, or was borne into this world, Esai. 45. 1, 5. he promised the land to Abraham and to his seed after him, when as yet he had no child, Acts 7. 5. He made a Covenant with Israel, not with them onely that stood there that day, but with them also that were not there that day with them, Deut. 29. 14, 15. And if he did thus imply the children with the parents in other covenants and promises: how much more did he the like to Adams seed: seeing Adam is spoken of, not as a particular man, but a generall; so that his unrighteousnesse was not his owne onely, but his childrens also; even as Christs righte-

righteousness, whom Adam figured) was not his owne onely, but is communicated with all his children, who therefore is the second Adam causing life, as the first Adam caused death, *Rom. 5. 1 Cor. 15.*

6. Like vanity is in his next words, *Infants had then no being, no life, therefore the Law had then no dominion over them*; For so they might clude Pauls argument of Levies paying tithes, *Hebr. 7. 9, 10.* saying, *Levi had then no being, no life, therefore he could pay no tithes in Abrahams dayes.* But as the Apostle saith he was in the loynes of Abraham, and so he paid tithes; likewise we were in the loynes of Adam, and so we sinned. Againe, in *Rom. 7. 1.* the Apostle speaketh of a man during life, who when he is dead, his wife is free from his Law, *v. 2.* If they will apply this to all sinne and sinners, then they thinke when a wicked man dyeth, the Law of God hath no dominion over him any more; and so there is no punishment by the law of God to be inflicted on sinners after this life. But doe these vaine men thinke by such sophistry to escape the damnation of Hell? Doe they not know that after death commeth judgement, and that by the Law? *Hebr. 9. 17. Rom. 2. 2, 16.*

Against the Apostles Doctrine in *Rom. 5.* they alleadge, *That we were in Adam, not to bring any soule to hell for breach of that command, Thou shalt not eate: for the Lord saith, All soules are mine, both the soule of the father, and the soule of the sonne: that soule that sinneth it shall die. The sonne shall not beare the iniquity of the father, &c.*

Answ. First, the Prophet speaketh not in *Ezek. 18. 4. &c.* of Adam, but of the later Fathers of the Jewes which sinned, *v. 2.* but Paul speaketh of Adam, who was not onely a particular person (as all other fathers in this case are) but an universall man, the root of all mankind and figure of Christ, *Rom. 1. 14. &c.* Againe, the Prophet speaketh of such sonnes as are just, and do not such like sinnes as their fathers did, *Ezek. 18. 1, 14, &c.* but Paul speaketh of us all, as we are in Adam, unjust and sinners, and guilty of our first Fathers iniquity, *Rom. 5. 12, 19.* So these two Scriptures, the one speaking of actuall sinnes, which are eschewed, the other speaking of originall sinne, which we now cannot avoid; speake not of one and the same sinne of estate, and therefore doe not one expound another. Thirdly, the Prophet exempteth the good children which eschew their fathers sinnes, from death, *Ezek. 18. 9, 17.* The Apostle inwrappeth us all the sonnes of Adam in his sinne and in his death, *Rom. 5. 12, 14, 17.* Fourthly, the Prophet

Prophet speaketh generally of the many finnes which the Fathers did, and the sonnes did not, *Ezek. 18. 6, 7, 8, 18.* The Apostle speaketh of that one sinne or offence, by which we all (being in *Adams* loynes) are guilty, *Rom. 5. 16.* But in this they both agree, the Prophet saith, *The soule that sinneth, it shall dye, Ezek. 18. 4.* the Apostle saith, *That all have sinned, to wit, in Adams loynes) therefore death passeth upon all, Rom. 5. 12.* Hereby all wise men may see, how impertinent a prooffe the *Anabaptists* bring from *Ezek. 18.* that *Adams* sinne brings not any soule to Hell. For *Adams* sinne bringing sinne and death upon all, and Hell being the death which is eternall, it is brought by his sinne upon all his posterity; except through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, they have eternall life, which is the gift God, *Rom. 6. 23.*

Further, they answer, (and desire it may be well observed) that mankind was onely in *Adam*, in their bodily substance; he is the father of our bodies in respect of matter, but our forme and soules came from God, he is the Father of our spirits, *Heb. 12. 9, Eccles. 12. 7. and 8. 8.* that earthly matter was in *Adam*, of which our bodies are made, &c. thus, and no otherwise were we in *Adam*.

Ans. We observe it well, and observe their error also. It is untrue that thus (to wit, in respect of our bodies onely) we are in *Adam*, and not in respect of our soules, no Scripture teacheth this, but their owne fanfic. For though our soules were not in all respects in *Adam*, as our bodies were, to wit, materially: yet in some respect (to wit, formally) we were in *Adam* both body and soule; which I thus manifest. *Adam* begat *Seth* in his owne image, *Gen. 5. Abraham* begat *Isaac*, &c. *Mat. 1.* So body begetteth not body; but man begetteth man, and man consisteth of body and soule, which are the parts that constitute a man. So man (that is the whole, not part of a man onely) is said to be borne of a woman, *Job 14. 1.* Yea, the sixty sixe soules (whereby figuratively is meant persons, consisting of bodies and soules) are said to come out of *Jacobs* thigh (or loynes) *Gen. 46. 26.* and *Levi* in the loynes of *Abraham* is said to pay tithes, *Hebr. 7. 9, 10.* Now the body without the spirit is dead, and therefore cannot pay tithes, nor doe any action. And in the place and case in hand, in *Adam* all sinned, all dyed, judgement came on all men to condemnation, *Rom. 5. 12, 18.* But the body without the soule sinneth not, neither dieth, nor shall be condemned. Therefore

it is apparent, that the Scripture speaketh of men in *Adam*, otherwise then in respect of their bodies onely: so that these speciall mens observation is nothing worth.

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Again they plead, as God gave no Law to *Adam*, before hee gave him a soule of reason and understanding: no more doth he give to any of *Adams* posterity, any Law, till he give them soules of reason and understanding, as in *Deut.* 1. 2. I speake not to your children which have neither knowne nor seene, &c.

Ans. First, the words of *Moses* to *Israel*, to whom he propounded the Law, are not to be compared with Gods Law given to *Adam*: for the *Israelites* were spoken to personally, *Adam* generally, as an universall man, the root of all mankind, as before is proved. Secondly, the covenant of *Moses* Law did also after a sort pertain to their children which then were not, *Deut.* 29. 14, 15. though it was actually taught them onely which were present, *Deut.* 11. Thirdly, the sin which *Paul* treateth of, and death for sin, was in the world before *Moses* law, which these men speak of, *Rom.* 5. 12, 13, 14. Fourthly, let all they say be given them, yet it helps them not; for I have before proved, that we were all in *Adam* as living men, not as dead corpses, and so had soules of reason and understanding in him originally, even as we had bodies, eyes, eares, &c. in him originally, though after a different manner as before is noted.

Further they say, God never purposed to execute on *Adam* for that transgression condemnation to hell; in that he purposed to send Christ betwixt, in whom *Adam* beleeving should be saved. If *Adam* for his own sin was not condemned to hell without remedy, shall any of his posterity be sent to hell without remedy, and that for his sin? &c.

Ans. 1. The question in the first place is changed, which is, whether *Adam* & all his posterity in him, falling from God, deserved not hell for their sinne. This they deny not, neither can disprove.

2. As God purposed not to damne *Adam* for his sinne; so neither purposed he to damne *Noah* for his drunkenness, *Lu* for his incest, *David* for his adultery and murder, &c. but to give them remedy by faith in Christ. Will they hereupon plead that other actuall drunkards, murderers, whoremungers, deserve not damnation; or shall not many such be damned for these sinnes?

3. Though all infants for their native sinne, and all men for their actuall sinnes deserve damnation: yet never was it Gods purpose to damne

damne all without remedy. For Christ (the second *Adam*) giveth righteousness and life to all infants and old transgressors that are borne of him; as the first *Adam* conveyed unrighteousnesse and death to all his ordinary naturall posteritie. Yea grace here exceedeth: for the judgement (or guilt) of originall sinne was by one (offence) to condemnation; but the free gift (by Christ) is of many offences, unto justification, *Rom. 5. 16.*

They object, that condemnation is for not beleiving in Christ, *Ioh. 3. 19. & 16. 9. Mark. 16. 16. Rom. 11. 33.*

Ans. First the Apostle saith, the wages of sinne is death, *Rom. 6. 23.* therefore the wicked shall be condemned not onely for their not beleiving in Christ, but also for their unmercifulnesse, idolatries, adulteries and other crimes, *Matth. 25. 41, 42. Rom. 2. 5, 6.* Secondly, the sinne of unbeleeve cleaveth unto all *Adams* children as other sinnes, and shall bee imputed as well as the sinne of lust, or any other iniquities. Thirdly, to beleive is not in the will or power of man, but is the gracious gift of God, to such as hee hath ordained unto life, *Ephes. 2. 8. Act. 13. 48.*

Again they alledge, that *Adam* by that transgression deprived himselfe of Gods favour in that estate wherein hee was in paradise: and notwithstanding the promise of Christ hath by his sinnes procured this judgement, *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, &c. Gen. 3.* Thus *Adam* brought himselfe and all his posteritie, the earth and every creature in it to vanity and bondage of corruption, *Rom. 8. 20, &c.* And in this estate are all *Adams* sons begotten and borne: so that by *Adams* sinne, vanitie, corruption and death went over all, &c. So infants have originall corruption, as other creatures have. Yet those that die and have corruption by *Adams* sinne, shall not be cast into hell fire.

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Ans. A felon, murderer, traytor, that is apprehended by the magistrate, imprisoned kept in fetters and affliction his lands and goods confiscate, &c. pleadeth hee ought not to be put to death, because hee hath suffered for his crimes, losse of liberty, goods, &c. But will this plea save him?

Even such is the plea of these evill men. For all men being in *Adam* fallen from God, and traytours to his Majestie, children of wrath, and servants of sinne and Satan, because God hath cursed the earth for their sake, cast them out of earthly paradise, made the creatures

creatures subject to vanity, and themselves subject to sorrowes and miseries, therefore they deserve not to die in hell, if these vaine men may be judges. But wee know the judgement of God is according to truth against all evill doers. Hee telleth us, *the wages of sinne is death, but the gift of God is eternall life through Christ, Rom. 6. 23.* where eternall life being opposed to death, sheweth that eternall death is the wages due for sinne. And what sinne is there that deserveth not hell? 2. Whereas they say, *Adam* by his sinne deprived himselfe of paradise: it is true. But if they meane earthly paradise onely, they erre from the truth: for by his sinne hee was deprived also of the heavenly paradise, to which there is no restoring but by Christ, *Luk. 23. 43. Rev. 2. 7.* and as himselfe, so all his posterity that sinned in him, *Rom. 5.* Thirdly, so where they say, all his posteritie were subjected to vanitie and corruption, it is true, but not all the truth, unless they understand such corruption; as *Peter* speaketh, *2 Pet. 2. 12.* which is eternall destruction, and then they yeeld the cause; But they meane not so, but corruption such as is in beasts, birds, &c. wherein they goe quite astray. For beasts and other brutish and senselesse creatures, are not sinners as all *Adams* children are, *Rom. 5. 12. 19.* sinne is not but in reasonable creatures onely, as Angels and men. Neither is any creature subject to eternall torment, but sinners onely. Other creatures when they perish, there is an end of them, and of their misery with them: but they that perish in their sinnes, have no end of their misery, but it is eternall, *Matth. 25. 46. Mark 9. 45, 46.* Wherefore they doe not well to expound *Rom. 5.* by *Rom. 8.* because the Apostle speaketh not of the same, but of divers things and estates in those two Chapters. Fourthly, take that which they say, and it overthroweth them. For how should *Adams* sin bring all his posteritie unto death but by their guilt in *Adams* sin? If it made not them sinners, the Scripture which they formerly acknowledged, *Ezek. 18.* teacheth, that the children should not die for their fathers sins. Now seeing many infants die daily, it proveth them all to be sinners, because death is the wages of sinne, *Rom 6. 23. Gen. 2. 17.*

At length they come to answer, *Rom. 5.* with this perverse doctrine, *This is the meaning of the holy Ghost, that by Adams sinne, all his posteritie have weake natures, Rom. 8. 3. by which, when the commandement comes (Rom. 7. 10.) they cannot obey and live; but sinne and so die; till when they are alive without the law, so saith the Apostle, vers. 9. and thus is verified,*

sied, that a'l both Jewes and Gentiles are under sinne, &c. *Reade on the the Scripture, and you may evidently see, that neither this, nor any part of Gods Word, is spoken to, or of infants.*

Answer. This is not the Apostles meaning: for hee saith not they have weake natures, but that *all have sinned*, and through the offence of one many *are dead*, many were made sinners, *Rom. 5. 12, 15. 19.* which is more then weakenesse of nature, and pronenesse to sinne. Secondly, in *Rom. 8. 3.* it is said that *it (the Law) is weake through the flesh*, and so cannot save any man: which words these men wreit, as if it meant *Adams* children weake. Which thing though it bee true, yet is it not that which is spoken of in *Rom. 8. 3.* Thirdly, when the Apostle saith in *Rom. 7. 9.* *that hee was alive without the Law*: this contradicth (according to their sense) the other Scripture, in *Rom. 5. 12.* that *all have sinned, and are dead.* The Apostle in *Rom. 5.* speaketh of things as they are, in *Rom. 7. 9.* hee speaketh of things as they seemed to bee, but were not indeed. *Paul* was alive in his owne conceite thinking himselfe able to keepe the Law, as naturall men doe suppose they can. But when the commandement came (to wit, unto his knowledge and conscience) then sinne revived, and hee died. How could this bee: seeing the commandement is holy, just, and good, *v. 12.* Hee telleth us in *v. 13.* that *sinne wrought death in him by that which was good.* So then hee was sinfull (though hee knew it not) before the commandement came, sinfull by nature, but not discerning this his wofull state, the Law was given to shew it him; for by the Law com-meth the know ledge of sinne, *Rom. 3. 20.* Againe, saying in *Rom. 7. 11.* *that sinne tooke occasion by the commandement deceived him and slew him*: hee plainly acknowledgeth sinne to have beene in him, before the commandement came: this he confirmeth in *v. 14.* saying, *the Law is spirituall, but I am carnall, so'd under sinne*: Whereupon hee applyeth the evils which hee did, to sinne dwelling in him, *v. 17. 20.* and this inhabiting or in-dwelling sinne, is that originall sinne whereof wee treat, which *Paul* for a while could not discern to bee in him (as all naturall men discern it not, but count it an idle terme, and thinke there is no such thing) till by the Law hee came to discern it and to lament it.

Fourthly, it is here to bee observed how the Anabaptists grant, *all men have weake natures, and cannot obey and live, but sinne and die.* How com-meth this to passe? By *Adams* sinne, say they. Behold here how they

they thwart their owne grounds. They impose a necessitie upon all men, which (they thinke) are borne innocents, to sinne. They cannot but sinne, they must needs die: and this not through their owne default at all, but by *Adams*. If we should thus teach, what out-cries would they make after us? How is it they here forget the Scriptures by themselves fore-alleged, *The sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of the father, Ezek. 18. 20.* Is not this a heauey burden which the sonnes beare, that their fathers sinning, and they being innocent, are so weakened of God, that they cannot but sinne, they cannot but die? Doth God create an innocent man, and give him charge to doe that which is impossible for the men to doe, and threaten death unto him for not doing it? Wee abhorre such doctrine as quite overthrowing Gods justice. When hee made *Adam* innocent, he gave him no Law, but that which was possible and ealie for him to doe, and to have continued in doing it, if hee had would. His justice requireth him to doe the like to all his innocent creatures. Wherefore if these men come not to acknowledge with the Apostle (and with us) originall sinne and death for sinne to bee in *Adams* seed, that his fall and disobedience was the fall of us all, by imputation and by infection, (as a serpent brings forth but a serpent) and that so being sinners in him, wee have lost our abilitie to doe good, by Gods just judgement, and are sold under sinne: If they come not (I say) unto this, they will bee open enemies to the justice of God, and make the judge of all the world not to doe equitie.

5. Finally, whereas they say, that neither this nor any part of Gods Word is spoken to, or of infants: they impudently avouch untruth. The Apostle in *Rom. 5. 14.* speaketh of them which sinned after the similitude of *Adams* transgression, and yet death reigned over them also. What sinne can this bee but originall sinne wherein infants are borne, and for which many infants die? For when they passe from infancie and come to understanding, they sinne actually as *Adam* did. To sin the same sin they cannot, for all being shut out of paradise, they cannot eate of the forbidden tree, though they would. Neither doth the Apostle speake of that same sin: but of sinning after the similitude of *Adams* transgression: so it meaneth actuall sin, like *Adams*. Now all sinne is either originall or actuall; If then death reigneth over them which sin not actuall, as *Adam* did, it must needs reigne over them which sin originally onely in *Adam*.

Adam: and these bee infants, for the Anabaptists grant, that when they come to discretion, they sin (and cannot but sin) actually. And thus their next words also are refuted, when they say, *Infants are under no law, therefore transgression cannot bee imputed unto them, Rom.* The contrary is thus proved: Infants have transgression imputed unto them, and death for transgression, as the Apostle sheweth, in *Rom.* 5. Therefore they are under some law: though not under *Moses* law which punisheth actuall transgressors, yet under *Adams* Law (in whose loynes they were and sinned) for which they are punished even with death it selfe.

In their next words, they condemne themselves and all their vaine reasoning, confessing, that *Adam* fell from the estate wherein hee was, and in him all mankind. Page 117.

This is very true, and overthroweth their heresie. For *Adams* fall, as the Apostle describeth it, was sinne, offence, transgression, disobedience, judgement (or guiltinesse) to death, and condemnation, *Rom.* 5. 12. 19. Now all mankind fell in him, as *Paul* teacheth, and these enemies grant: therefore all mankind is in sin, offence, transgression, &c. unto death and condemnation.

Of the remedy for the sin of all (whereof they next speake) wee Page 117. grant that is both for Infants and old sinners by grace in *Christ*. But these are two severall questions: and here wee treat of sin onely and the merit of it. Of Gods grace we have spoken other where.

They proceed and say, that *Infants* whom *Christ* so often accounted innocent, *Matth.* 18. 3. 4. and 19. 14. are freed from the Law, and so sinne is dead in them: but when the commandement comes, then they die in sinnes and transgressions, &c. *Rom.* 7. 8. *Ephes.* 2. 1.

Ans. *Innocents* may bee so called in sundry respects. First, when in them there is no sinne at all; thus *Adam* in his creation was innocent. 2. When though they be sinners, yet they are not guiltie of such sinnes as men lay to their charge, *Exod.* 23. 7. 2 *Sam.* 3. 28. *Jer.* 2. 34. 3. When they are cleare of actuall sins: and thus Infants may bee called innocents, *Psal.* 106. 38. that *Christ* called Infants *Innocents* in the first sense, I deny: the Scripture also denyeth them so to bee, *Iob* 15. 14. and 25. 4. *Iohn* 3. 3. 6. *Eph.* 2. 3. I finde not in the places which they quote, that *Christ* called Infants innocents: howbeit sometimes hee calleth his Disciples innocents (or guiltlesse) *Matth.* 12. 7. of whom yet these men (I suppose) will not say, they were without

out all sin. That Infants are freed from the Law given to *Adam*, is denied and disproved by *Rom. 5.* for in *Adam* they sinned and died. That sin is dead in them is also disproved: rather they are dead in sin, untill they bee revived by Christ. *Ephes. 2. 1, 2.*

Page 119. Infants (say they) have done neither good nor evil in the flesh, therefore Infants shall not appeare before Christ, they shall receive no judgement, *2 Cor. 5. 10. Revel. 20. 12. 13.*

Ans. How boldly doe these men abuse the Scriptures? In *2 Cor. 5. 10.* Paul saith, *Wee must all appeare before the Iudgement seate of Christ, Rev. 20. 12.* It is said, *I saw the dead small and great stand before God.* Nay, say these adversaries, not infants: Their reason, because infants have done neither good nor evil in the flesh, is an error before refuted: for though they have not done good or evil actually, as older people; yet in the first *Adam* they have done evil: and in the second *Adam* (Christ) they have done well.

Page 119. Against *David's* confession of his birth-sinne in *Psal. 51.* they thus dispute. If *David* confesse unto God his owne sinne, then hee desireth him in mercy to behold whereof hee was made, as *Psal. 103. 14.* of dust, weak flesh, unable to resist the Tempter: through which weaknesse hee was overcome in these sinnes: and thus weak flesh is called sinfull flesh, (in which Christ came) *Rom. 8. 1.* Christ is said to be made sin, *2 Cor. 5. 21.* not that hee was a sinner: no more *David*, confessing hee was conceived in sinne, doth prove that by conception and birth he was a transgressor.

Ans. They pervert both *David's* words and meaning. Hee speaketh of sinne and iniquitie: they speake of weaknesse onely whereby hee fell into sinne. What Scripture can be so plaine, that may not be wrested with such wicked glosses? Against weaknesse wee pray for ayde and strength to resist evil: against sinne wee pray for mercy and forgivenesse: and for this *David* prayeth, *Psalme 51.*

Secondly, it is another abuse of Scripture that they say, weak flesh is called sinfull flesh, in which Christ came, *Rom. 8. 1.* where first they make *David* no more a sinner at his birth, then Christ himselfe; contrary to the whole tenour of this *Psalme*, and contrary to *Rom. 5.* as is before shewed. Then they falsifie the text in *Rom. 8. 1. 3.* for the weaknesse there spoken of is in the Law, it was weak through the flesh, and so not able to save sinners.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, by *Flesh* there *Paul* meaneth not the substance of flesh, for that weakneth not the Law, nor hindereth mans salvation: it is the good creature of God, as is the soul or spirit: but he meaneth by flesh, our corrupt sinfull state in soule and body: for he saith in ver. 8. *I bey that are in the flesh cannot please God.* If *flesh* mean our bodily substance, then no man living in the body can please God: not the Prophets, not the Apostles, no not Christ himselfe, for he lived in our flesh, in our humane nature, and the Apostle should speake untruly in the ninth verse, *Yee are not in the flesh.* Wherefore *flesh* in *Rom. 8.* signifieth our unregenerate state, as in *Gen. 6. 3.* *Job. 3. 6.* *Rom. 7. 18. & 8. 5, 9.*

Fourthly, it is another falsification when they say, *sinfull flesh, in which Christ came;* the Scripture saith not in sinfull flesh, but in the likenesse of sinfull flesh. *Rom. 8. 3.*

Fifthly, weaknesse or infirmity, as it meaneth not sinne, but affliction, such Christ had, such the Apostle tooke pleasure in, *2 Cor. 12. 10.* but infirmity, as it meaneth sinne, Christ had not; he is opposed herein to the Priests of the Law, which had infirmity or weaknesse, *Hebr. 7. 27, 28.* and *4. 15.* But *David* in *Psal. 51.* confesseth such infirmity (if they will have it so called) as was *sinne* and *iniquity*, which proveth he was a transgressor from the wombe, and not without sin, as was Christ.

Sixthly, Christ is said to be made sinne for us, *2 Corin. 5. 21.* these words for us the adversaries baulke and omit. *David* was not made sin for us, or for any, but was himselfe conceived in sinne. Christ being himselfe no sinner, yet was he made sin, that is, a sin-offering for us, to purge us, and make us the righteousness of God in him; for the Sin-offering was usually called sin in the Law, *Levit. 4. 3. 8, 14, 20, 24. &c.* the Apostle expoundeth it, *for sinne*, meaning a sacrifice for sin, *Hebr. 10. 6.* from *Psal. 40.* thus Christ was a sin, that is, a sacrifice for sin, but *David* was not so. Therefore these places speake not of sin in one and the same sense, but in the contrary *David* complaineth of his owne sin and guiltinesse: *Paul* speaketh of Christ his purging *David* and us all from sin and guiltinesse, by being made a sin-offering for us.

Their former answer being so apparently against the truth, that *David* acknowledging sin, they will have it no sin, but weaknesse; they devise to darken the light with another cloud, as if *David* spake not of his own estate, but his mothers, and then (say they) it is the curse or

A Censure upon a Dialogue

punishment for sin laid upon her, Gen. 3. 16. where the very words agree with these of Davids, &c. and it is frequent in Scripture to call punishment for sin, by the name of sin, &c. and it is neither Davids sin, nor his mothers, that he here confesseth, to speake properly, but his mothers punishment.

Ans. As a bird in the net, so the more they strive, the more they are intangled. First, the whole scope of the *Psalm* is, that *David* might find mercy with the Lord for his own sins, as any that readeth it may see. And that in supplicating to God for grace before and after, he should here insert a complaint of his mothers punishment, is without any colour of truth. But this is the meaning, and suitable to his other words, that lamenting his actual transgressions, he bewaileth the evill fountaine whence they flowed, to wit, his native corruption, which brought forth these ugly trespasses.

Secondly, to let passe how they call Gods fatherly chastisement, a curse or punishment; they here againe belye the Scripture, in saying, that the very words in Gen. 3. 16. agree with these of Davids. For neither the word sin nor iniquity, (both which *David* useth in *Psalm* 51.) are to be found in Gen. 3. 16. that *Olgas* brow may seeme to be of brass, who shameth not so often and openly to falsifie the Text.

Thirdly, it is true that sinne and iniquity doe often improperly meane punishment: but the proper meaning for fault and guiltinesse is most frequent; and when it signifieth punishment, the context manifesteth, which it doth not here at all: but *David* before and after bewaileth his sins properly. Neither is here the phrase of bearing sin and iniquity, which is most usuall when punishment is meant; but of being brought forth in iniquity, and conceived in sinne, and they shew not any one place of Scripture, where such a phrase signifieth punishment.

Fourthly, as neither sinne nor iniquity are used in Gen. 3. 16. so the word conception there agreeth not, but differeth from the conceiving that *David* speaketh of in *Psalm* 51. and the difference of the words plainly discovereth these mens ignorance and errour. For in Gen. 3. 16. *Seron* is conception with sorrow, during the time that the mother goeth with child, but *Psalm* 51. *Jasham* signifieth conceiving with pleasure; for the word properly signifieth to be warme or inflamed with desire, as in the act of generation, not of men onely, but of cattell also, as Gen. 30. 38, 39, 41. Now nature both of man and beast teacheth all, that such conceiving is with delight, not with paine,

paine, and therefore David using such a word, when he telleth how his mother conceived him, cannot (in any reasonable mans understanding) meane his mothers corporall paines or punishment, as these corrupters of the Scripture doe feigne.

They proceed and say, *That David did not sinne in being conceived and borne: the soule is the subject of sinne, for from the soule or heart cometh wickednesse, Matth. 15. 19. The soule comes from God, the master of the body from the parents: the soule is very good comming from God, the body hath not sinned till it be infected with the soule by transgression of a law; and seeing they affirme that the very matter or substance whereof David was made, was sinne, and that this is it he confesseth in Psal. 51. Observe what will follow of this their dreame. The matter whereof all the sonnes of Adam are made, is sinne: but Christ, one of the sonnes of Adam after the flesh was made of that matter; therefore the matter or substance of Christs body was sinne. If it be wicked to say Christ was a sinner, because he was conceived of his mothers substance, as it is: so it is no lesse wicked to say, David was a sinner, because he was conceived of his mothers substance seeing the substance of both the mothers was one and the same.* Page 130.

Answer. It is even a wonder to behold how these men pervert, erre and slander, as if they had sold themselves to worke iniquity.

First, we teach not (as they perversly speake) that David sinned in being conceived and borne; for these being the workes of God and nature are good. But David was a sinner, because hee was conceived and borne in sinne, as himselfe confesseth.

Secondly, they erre, in saying the soule is the subject of sinne, for neither the soule alone, nor the body alone, but the whole man, (which differeth from both, and consisteth of both,) he is the subject of sin. Neither doth the body without the soule, nor the soule without the body commit sinne, but the man whiles the soule is in the body, sinneth, 2 Cor. 5. 10. and as the soule was not created but in the body, Zach. 12. 1. so when it departeth from the body, it sinneth no more, but goeth for judgement, Hebr. 9. 27. Eccles. 9. 3, 6. 10.

Thirdly, whereas they alledge, that wickednesse is from the heart, Mat. 15. 16. it is spoken of living men, consisting of soule and body; Madnesse (as Solomon saith) is in their heart while they live, and after that they goe to the dead, Eccles. 9. 3. And where they say, the soule comes

comes from God, the matter of the body from the parents; they lay not downe the truth fully. For though the soule is created of God, and is not materially from the parents, as the body; yet the parents give occasion to infuse the soule, (for without corporall generation, no soule is created) and so the soule may in some sort be said to have the beginning from Adam, though not of any matter from him. The essence of it is of God; the substance of it is from the parents, from whom it hath the manner of subsisting in the body.

Fourthly, though the soule as it is created of God is very good, (as the body also respected naturally is good) yet they erre in saying, *The body sinneth not till it be infected with the soule by transgression of a Law*: whereby they meane actuall transgression after it knowes the Law.

For first, it is not the body, but the man (of body and soule) that sinneth, as before is shewed.

Secondly, the body is not infected with the soule, but both body and soule are infected with sinne, to wit, that inbred and inhabiting sinne which came from Adam, as before is proved from Rom. 5. And this sin man hath, both by imputation and inherence, before he actually transgresseth the law, Rom. 5. 14. Psal. 51. for that which is borne of the flesh is flesh, Joh. 3. 6.

Fifthly, they notoriously slander us, that we should affirme the very matter or substance whereof David was made, to bee sinne: we affirme no such thing. The matter or substance we say is good, as every creature of God is. Sinne is an evill accident cleaving to the substance, to the body and soule of man. Of like falshood it is, that we should affirme David to confesse in Psal. 51. that the substance whereof he was made: was sin. Neither David nor we ever so spake. So the Argument which by consequence they frame touching the substance of Gods body, that it should be sinne, is frivolous, collected from a fiction of their idle heads. For if no mans substance be sinne, (as we firmly hold) much lesse Christs.

After this they cast a stumbling blocke in the way, and would have us shew, *How Infants that have sinned, and are under condemnation of hell, can be reconciled to God, but only by faith in Christ Jesus: and if they cannot but by repentance and faith, then are they all left under condemnation, not for any Law that they have broken, but for their father Adams sinne.*

Answer.

Ans. That all have sinned, and are under condemnation, is proved by the Apostle *Rom. 5. 12. 8.* how infants can be reconciled to God, he also teacheth, namely, *through the gift of grace by one man Jesus Christ, Rom. 5. 12. 18.* The manner if it bee shewed, I feare these men will not receive it: for they that have so kicked against the prickles touching all mens fall and sinne in *Adam*; how should they receive the Doctrine of restauration by Christ? Howbeit I will indeavour to shew it; if it doe no good to them, it may to others.

First, The faith and repentance which they require in infants, namely actuall, is not to be found: as such actuall finnes are not found in them, as are in older men. The one of these exemplifieth the other, as the first *Adam* signified the second, *Rom. 5. 14.* By the first *Adam* we have sinne, *Rom. 5. 12.* offence, *v. 15.* disobedience, *v. 19.* judgement, *v. 16.* death, *v. 14.* condemnation, *v. 16.* By the second *Adam* (Christ) we have grace and the gift of grace, *v. 15.* the gift of righteousness, *v. 17.* the free gift to justification, *v. 16.* even to justification of life, *v. 18.* By the first *Adam* we have three evils: 1. imputation of his sin, 2 corruption of our nature, 3 guiltinesse of death temporary and eternall. By the second *Adam* we have three opposite good things; 1 imputation of his righteousness, 2 regeneration (or renewing) of our nature, 3 and deliverance from death temporary and eternall. As the corruption or viciounesse that we have by *Adam*, is in the bud or spring in the beginning (not in the full,) and inclineth us to all actuall finnes: so the regeneration wee have by Christ, is in the spring and beginnings thereof when wee are infants, and inclineth us to actuall faith and obedience. And thus repentance and faith are in Christian infants in their bud or beginning, inclinatively: even as impenitencie and unbelieve are in *Adams* infants, in their beginning, and by inclination. If any man aske with *Nicodemus*, *how can these things be?* let him consider, that as he knoweth not the way of the wind or of the spirit, or how the bones doe grow in the wombe of her that is with child, even so he knoweth not the worke of God, who maketh all. *Iohn 3. Eccles.*

11. 5.

Lastly, to the many examples of Gods judgements upon infants, as at *Noes* flood, the burning of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, &c. Page 122. they answer, *Though they had bodily death for the finnes of their*

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parents:

parents: yet they perished not with the wicked in hell. For of this (bodily death) other unreasonable creatures, as well as infants, have alwaies had their portions. All flesh must die, and death is losse to none but to the Wicked: to the godly and innocent, death and all afflictions of this life, are not worthy of the glory that shall be shewed.

Ans. 1 In that they grant, Infants have bodily death for their parents sinnes, they contradict their owne plea before from Ezek. 18. 20, the soule that sinneth, it shall die: the sonne shall not beare the iniquity of the father, &c. for there the Prophet speaketh even of bodily death and miseries in this world, whereof the Jewes complained. And unlesse they confesse, that infants are sinners in their parents, they cannot maintaine the justice of God for killing infants, and that oftentimes with strange & horrible deaths. And if they grant that infants are sinners, they cannot with any truth deny but hell is their due, unlesse they bee redeemed by Christ. And by infants death wee certainly conclude that they are sinners, from the Apostles ground in Rom. 5. 12. 14. & 6. 23. and that for their sinne they may and shall be cast into hell (unlesse Christ save them) is evident by Christs doctrine, in John 3. 3. *Except a man be borne againe, he cannot see the Kingdome of God.* And that Infants are there implied is plaine, because an infant is borne a man, as Christ speaketh John 26. 21. and being borne a sinner, Psal. 51. Rom. 5. must be borne againe of the Spirit, or else shall not see the Kingdome of God. If it see not Gods kingdome, it shall see the Devils prison; for a Limbus or third place will no where be found. And how these men can exempt wicked infants from hell otherwise then by their own fancies, I know not: the Apostles taught no such doctrine, when with out exception of infants, they call the old world that perished, *the world of the ungodly*: 2 Pet. 2. 5. and reckon none saved but Noah and his House, Heb. 11. 7. 1 Pet. 3. 20. 21. and tell us that Sodom, Gomorrah, and the Cities about them, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternall fire. Jude v. 7.

But these presumptuous men will controll the judgements of God, and tell us that which no Prophet or Apostle ever taught, that all the infants in those cities suffer no such vengeance: yea, though God himself promised that if but ten righteous had been found in Sodom (wherein were many times ten infants) he would not

not have destroyed the City for tens sake, *Gen. 18. 32. 2* The reason which they would ground upon, because other unreasonable creatures as well as infants have alwaies had their portions in bodisly death; this reason is brutish, and becometh not men. For no unreasonable creature is a sinner, as all men in Adam are sinners: no unreasonable creature hath a soule immortall infused of God, as all mankind hath: no brute beast shall bee raysted from the dead, as all men shall, both old and young, to life or death eternall. And when a Beast dieth it hath an end both of welfare and misery, so hath none of Adams children. What comparision then is betweene men and beasts? where they say, death is losse to none but to the wicked; it is true. And hereupon it followeth that seeing infants are wicked, (as is formerly proved) untill they be made righteous by Christ, and borne againe; death is a losse unto them: and a gaine to those onely (whether old or yong) which are made partakers of the grace and gift of righteousness, by one Jesus Christ. *Rom. 5. 12. to 17.*

7. Of Baptizing Infants.

Against Baptizing of Infants the adversaries first lay this aground, *Baptisme pertaineth onely to them that declare their repentance and faith to those Disciples of Christ that baptize them.* *This appeareth by Iohn Baptists doctrine and practise, Mar. 14. Mat. 3. 6. and Christs Disciples, Iohn 4. 1. and 3. 22. by Christs commission for all nations, Mat. 28. 19. Mar. 16. 16. by the Apostles practise Acts, 2. 38. 41. and 8. 12. 36.* Page 129.

Ans. That baptisme pertaineth to such as declare their repentance and faith, is true; and the Scriptures alledged prove it. But that it pertaineth to such onely, is untrue: and none of the Scriptures which they bring, doe so teach. The infants of the Church, who cannot declare repentance or faith, are also to be baptized, as after shall be manifested.

That the practise taught by the foresaid Scriptures, is to bee perpetuall, we grant: and they needed not have taken paines to prove it.

Infants (say they) may not be baptized, because there is neither commendement, example, nor true consequence for it, in all Christs perfe^t Testaments, &c. Page 131.

Page 132.

Ans. This we deny: commandment there is for it in *Mat.* 28. and *Mar.* 16. and necessary consequences from many Scriptures confirme it; as shall be proved.

Baptisme (they say) is in that a good conscience maketh request unto God, *1 Pet.* 3: 21. it is of repentance for remission of sins, *Mat.* 14. the washing of the new birth, *Tit.* 3: 5. &c. If it cannot be proved by the Scriptures that infants have their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, have repentance, faith, &c. they ought not to be baptized.

Ans. Their argument hath onely a shew, no substance of truth. For first a man might frame as good a reason thus; Circumcision is not that which is outward in the flesh, but that of the heart, in the spirit, *Rom.* 2: 28 29. it is the putting off of the body of the sins of the flesh, *Colos.* 2: 11. it sealeth the right consciences of faith, which they have, *Rom.* 4: 11. and the circumcising of the foreskinne of the heart, *Deut.* 10: 16. to love the Lord, &c. *Deut.* 30: 6. Now if it cannot be proved by Scripture that infants have the love of God in their hearts, the righteousness of faith, the putting off of the body of sinne, &c. they may not be circumcised, and this circumcision is nothing. If this be not a good argument to keepe children from circumcision, the other is no better to keepe them from Baptisme.

Secondly, Christian infants have the graces they speake of, repentance, faith, regeneration, &c. though not actually, or by way of declaration to others; yet they have through the worke of the Spirit, the seede and beginning of faith, virtually and by way of inclination; so that they are not wholly destitute of faith, regeneration, &c. though it be a thing hid and unknowne unto us after what manner the Lord worketh these in them, *Eccles.* 11: 5. Which I further prove thus. If infants naturally are some waies capable of Adams sinne, and so of unbeliefe, disobedience, transgressions, &c. then Christian infants supernaturally and by grace are some waies capable of Christs righteousness, and so of faith, obedience, sanctification, &c. But infants are capable of the former evils by Adam: therefore they are capable of the latter good things by Christ. That they are capable of the former is before proved (where we treated of originall sinne) by *Rom.* 5. *Psal.* 51. *Iohn* 3. and many Scriptures. This consequence, that therefore they are capable of the latter also, to wit of Christian graces, is thus manifested.

First,

First, Because the first Adam was a figure of the second Adam Christ, so that as the sinne of the first Adam, his fault, disobedience, and death for it, came on all his children, both by imputation and infection or corruption of nature: so the righteousness and obedience of Christ commeth on all his children, both by imputation and renewing of nature unto life and salvation, as the Apostle compareth them, *Rom. 5. 12. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21.*

Secondly, Because infants being by Adam sinners, children of wrath, &c. must be borne againe of the Spirits, or else they cannot see the Kingdome of God, *Iohn 3. 3. 5, 6.* But the Christian infants dying in infancie shall see the Kingdome of God, and not be damned, (as the adversaries grant) therefore by Christs doctrine they are borne againe of the spirit: and so must needs in some measure have repentance, faith, holiness, without which there is no regeneration. Again, that infants have the faith and love of God in them: and regeneration in their measure, is thus proved. They to whom God giveth the signe and seale of righteousness by faith, and of regeneration, they have faith and regeneration: for God giveth no lying signe, hee sealeth no vaine or false Covenants. But God gave to infants circumcision, which was the signe and seale of the righteousness of faith and regeneration, *Gen. 17. 12. Rom. 4. 11. and 2. 28, 29. Colos. 2. 11.* Therefore infants had (and consequently now have) faith and regeneration, though not in the crop or harvest by declaration, yet in the bud and beginnings of all Christian graces. They that deny this reason, must either make God the author of a lying signe and seale of the covenant to Abraham and his infants: or they must hold that infants had those graces then, but not now: both which are wicked and absurd to asseme. Or they must say, that circumcision was not the signe and seale of the righteousness of faith, and then they openly contradict the Scripture, *Rom. 4. 11.*

Moreover, as the Apostle in *Rom. 5.* compareth our naturall estate in Adam, and our spirituall state in Christ, so may wee in this case. If we cannot justly object against Gods worke in nature, but doe beleve that our infants are reasonable creatures, and are borne not brute beasts, but men, though actually they can manifest no reason or understanding more then beasts, (yet a young

young lambe knoweth and discerneth his damme sooner then an infant knoweth his mother :) then neither can wee justly object against Gods worke in grace, but are to beleeve that our infants are sanctified creatures, and are borne beleevers, not infidels, though outwardly they can manifest no faith or sanctification unto us. And why should it bee thought incredible that God should worke faith in infants ? If because wee know not or perceive not how it can be: let us consider that wee know not the way of our naturall birth, and other earthly things, *Eccles. 11. 5. Iohn 3. 8.* how then can we know heavenly things ? If we make question of the power of God : nothing is impossible with him, Hee made all things of nothing ; he can make the dumbe beast speake with mans voyce, *Numb. 22.* he can make the babe in the mothers wombe, to be affected and leape for joy, at the voyce of words spoken to the mother, *Luke 1. 44.* and can hee not also worke grace, faith, holinesse in infants ? Hath Satan power by sinne to infect and corrupt infants (as is before proved,) and shall not God have power to cleanse from corruption, and make them holy ? if we make doubt of the will of God herein, behold we have his promises to restore our losses in Adam, by his graces in Christ, as he sheweth in *Rom. 5.* that he will circumcise our heart, and the heart of our seede to love him, *Deut. 30. 6.* wee have the seale of his promise, in giving circumcision to infants, to signifie and seale the righteousnesse of faith, *Rom. 4. 11. Gen. 17.* And we have assurance of all his promises, and of that to Abraham and his seede in particular, to be confirmed unto us (not abrogated or lessened) by Christ, *2 Cor. 1. 20. Luk. 1. 72, 73. Gal. 3. 14,* &c. wherefore they are but a faithlesse and crooked generation; that notwithstanding all that God hath spoken and done in this kinde, doe deny this grace of Christ to the infants, of his people, and the seale or confirmation of this grace by baptism now, as it was by circumcision of old.

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But they proceede to pleade against the truth thus, *Regeneration is a turning from sinne to God, Revel. 6. 11. 1 Thes. 2. 9. Tit. 4. 5. Repentance is a sight and knowing of sinne by the law, a confessing and sorrow for sinne, &c. Faith is the ground of things hoped for, Heb. 11. 1. and is accompanied with obedience, Jam. 2. Let them either now prove, that infants are turned from sinne, see, know, confesse, and sorrow for it, beleve the promises of God, or they say nothing.*

Ans.

Ans. They reason ignorantly and perversely, not only against the light of Gods word, but of nature. As if some brutish person should pleade thus. A man is a living creature that hath a reasonable soule; and the proper affections of a man as he is a man, are the facultie of understanding, of thinking, capeablenesse of learning, of remembring, faculty of reasoning, of judging and discerning true and false, good and evill, of approving and improving, of willing and nilling, of speaking, of numbring, &c. Now let them which affirme that infants are borne men (as Christ doth in *John* 16. 21.) prove that infants doe understand, doe thinke, remember, judge, discern good and evill, approve, will, speake, &c. or else they say nothing. Were not such a disputer worthy to bee laughed and hissed at? who requireth the actuall use and manifestation of humane affections and faculties in iufants; which are in them but potentially and in the seede and beginning: and because they cannot declare these things by their workes, therefore he denyeth them to bee of the generation of mankind, or borne men into the world, or that they have the faculties of men at all in them any manner of way? Even such is the argumentation of these erroneous spirits against the truth of religion. For as before they reasoned against the sinne, transgression, and condemnation of Infants, (contrary to Pauls doctrine in *Rom.* 5.) because infants actually understand not the law, nor transgresse against it; (and will not consider how they are sinners originally in Adam) so now also they reason against the grace of Christ in infants, and his worke of regeneration in them, because they cannot outwardly manifest the effects of regeneration or fruits of faith, (such as the Scriptures that they alledge doe require in older persons) and will not understand that these graces are in them through Christ and his Spirit, but in the beginnings only (as I have formerly proved) and are not in them as in those of full age, who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evill. And here I desire to know of the Anabaptists in their next writings about these matters; first, when they thinke that children (who in their opinion are borne without any sinne) begin to bee sinners, whether at 2. 3. 5. 7. or other yeares: and when they can justly reprove a child for sinne, if it shew in word, deede, or gesture, any thing contrary to the Law of God, as if it sweare, curse, lye, disobey

disobey parents, take anothers goods, be froward, angry, or the like. Yea let any of them tell me (if hee can) when he himselfe first fell from his innocencie and became a sinner, being none before; by what act or transgression of what Commandement. It is strange that an innocent man should fall from his innocencie, and not know when and how. Secondly, let them say, whether every child so soone as it beginneth to be a sinner hath not remedy for the sinne by Christ; and so whether it bee not capable of repentance, faith, regeneration, &c. and consequently of Baptisme, so soone as it is a sinner. Thirdly, seeing they insist so much on the perfection of the ordinances of the new Testament, as of the old, (which thing I willingly grant) I desire to know whether (as God appointed the eight day for the circumcising of a child after it was borne) Christ hath appointed any day, moneth, or yeare for a child to bee baptized after it is borne.

If they say, none, but when the child can manifest repentance and faith: then what manifestation hath Christ prescribed, whether if the child say it repenteth him, and hee beleeveth, it is enough, or what rules and ordinances Christ hath given, by which we may certainly know that now (and not before or after) a child is to receive Baptisme, as a repentant and beleeving sinner: and let them tell us at what age of their children they or any of them hath first baptized his child unto remission of sinnes. These things are needfull to be known, that wee may walke by rule; and being not yet signified (to my knowledge) in any of their writings, I desire for my information, and for the better clearing of these controversies, that they would set downe their doctrine touching these points. For it is required of all parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, *Ephes. 6. 4.* this they cannot do aright, unlesse they know when first they begin to sinne, and consequently when first they begin to beleve. If they blame a child for sinne whiles it is an innocent; they commit iniquity: if they keepe a child from Christ and Christian baptisme when it is a repentant and beleeving sinner (which may be so soone as it is a sinner) they wrong their child most sinfully, to condemne that which Christ justifieth. These things are worthy of serious consideration both in respect of our childrens estate and of our owne.

And

And now ere I proceede further to answer their cavils, I will shew two commandements for the baptizing infants: the one given of old to our fathers, the other given by Christ.

1. That which was once commanded of God and never by him called backe, is now still to be done: as it is written, *What thing soever I command you, observe to doe it*, Deut. 22. 32. But God commanded the outward seale of his covenant of grace to be given to the infants of his people, as in *Gen. 17. 12, 13. Hee that is eight dayes old shall bee circumcised among you, &c. and my covenant shall bee in your flesh for an everlasting covenant.* And this commandement touching the substance of it, and outward sealing of the covenant, hath never by him beene abrogated, Therefore it is still to be continued, and our infants (by vertue of that commandement) are to have the seale of Gods covenant.

The common objection that this prooffe is not from Christs testament, but from Moses writings, is of no weight. For *Moses wrote of Christ, Job. 5. 46. The Apostle said none other things then those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come, Acts 26. 22. Christ came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfill Mar. 5. 17.* Paul proveth our justification by faith in Christ from Abrahams example written by Moses, as written not for his sake alone, but for us, *Rom. 4. 3. 24.* Therefore the example of Abrahams infants circumcised, is written for us also. To manifest this reason more fully, I lay downe these particulars. First, That the covenant then made with Abraham was the covenant of the Gospel, which we now have. 2 That circumcision the seale of the covenant & Baptism the seale of the covenant now, are one and the same in substance. The first is proved thus, Paul saith, *The Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathē through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, In thee shall all nations be blessed, Gal. 3. 8.* Again, when circumcision was instituted, the covenant was, *Thou shalt be a father of many Nations, &c. 17. 4. 5.* this promise (as belonging to the faith of Christ) is applied to our state under the Gospel, *Rom. 4. 13. 16. 17.* and is by Paul there opposed to the law. Moreover the covenant with Abraham, was that the Lord would be a God to him and to his seede after him, *Gen. 17. 7.* this promise implyeth blessednesse to him and them: for, *Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord,*

Psal. 33. 12. and this blessednesse commeth on none by the Law, *Rom.* 4. 15. *Gal.* 3. 10, 11, 12. and that he should be a God unto us, and we his people, is the summe of the Gospel, *Heb.* 8. 10. *2 Cor.* 6. 16. *Revel.* 21. 3. The difference betweene the fathers and us, is, that they had the Gospel in promise; wee have the same Gospel in performance, *Luk.* 1. 69. 71, 72, 73. &c. *Acts* 13. 32, 33. & 26. 6. They beleevd in Christ that was to come, We beleve in Christ who is come: Their faith and ours is one in substance, *Heb.* 11. *Gal.* 3. 9. That circumcision and baptisme are also one in substance (though different in outward signe) is thus manifested, Circumcision was the signe of faith and holinesse, *Rom.* 4. 11. and 2. 29. *Col.* 2. 11. *Deut.* 10. 16. Baptisme is the signe of faith and holinesse, *Acts* 8. 37. 38. *Rom.* 6. 3, 4 &c. Circumcision was the first signe and seale of entring into the covenant: Baptisme is so now. Wee now being buried with Christ in baptisme, are said to be circumcised in him, *Col.* 2. 11, 12, which plainly manifesteth them to be one and the same: even as their other sacramentall signes, are said to be the same that we now have, in respect of the things signified, *1 Cor.* 10. 1, 2, 3, 4. *1 Cor.* 5. 7, 8. For as much then as the covenant with Abraham and with us, and the seale of the covenant then & now, are one in substance, it followeth, that the commandement then to give infants the seale of the covenant, being never repealed, bindeth us to give them the seale of the covenant at this day. The exceptions which the adversaries make of the difference between circumcision and baptisme, shall bee answered after in their place.

Secondly, The second commandement for baptizing of infants, is in *Mark.* 16. 15. *Goe preach the Gospel to every creature; he that beleeveth and is baptized, shall be saved, Mar.* 28. 19. *Goe teach all nations baptizing them, &c.* In this commission of Christ are two things, the preaching of the Gospel to every creature, to all nations; and the sealing of the same by baptisme. The Gospel belonged to infants, and they are necessarily implied in the first: therefore baptisme belonged to infants, & they are as necessarily implied in the latter. Christ biddeth them proclaime or preach the Gospel: but what the Gospel is, is not here declared, we must gather it from other Scriptures. The Gospel (or Evangelie) is the glad tydings or joyfull declaration that the promise which

which was made unto the Fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children: the promise, (I say) concerning Christ, and the redemption of the world by him, as these Scriptures teach, Acts 13. 32, 33. Luk. 1. 54. 55. 69. 70, 71, 72, 73, &c. Acts 2. 38, 39. and 26. 22, 23. Luke 4. 18. 21. So the Gospel (which is the good tidings of the fulfilling of the promise) is as large as the promise was: whereupon, not in the forementioned Scriptures onely, but in many other places, the Apostles refferre the Gospel to the promise (or promises) made of old: as, *It is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seede, Rom. 4. 16. and, Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise, Gal. 4. 28. and, Christ was a Minister of the circumcision, for the truth of God, to confirme the promises (made) unto the fathers: and that the Gentiles might glorifie God for mercie, Rom. 15. 8, 9. and, That the promise by faith of Jesus Christ, might be given to them that beleeve, Gal. 3. 22. and, Paul an Apostle, &c. according to the promise of life, which is in Christ Jesus, 2 Tim. 1. 1. & many the like.* Not in generall only, but the particular promises at severall times, are shewed to be accomplished in the Gospel; as the promise to Adam, *Rom. 16. 20. from Gen. 3. 15. to Abraham, Luke 1. 55. 73. Rom. 4. 16, 17, 18. to David, Luk. 1. 69. 70. Acts 2. 30, 31. to Israel by Moses, Samuel, and other Prophets, Acts 3. 22, 24, 25. Luke 1. 70. so that all the promises of God are yea and Amen in Christ, 2 Cor. 1. 20. And for the point in controversie, the promises of grace and salvation to Abraham and to his seede, Gen. 17. 7. is by the Gospel shewed to be confirmed, Luke 1. 55. Acts 2. 38, 39. Gal. 3. 14, 16, 29. But the promise to Abrahams seede implied his infants, Gen. 17. 7. 10 12. therefore the Gospel (which is the complement of that promise) implyeth our infants, and so the Apostle saith, *the promise is to you and to your children, Acts 2. 39.* And the signe and seale of the promise was given to Abrahams children in infancie, Gen. 17. 10. 12. therefore it belongeth to our children in their infancie: and wee are said to bee the children of promise as Isaac was, Gal. 4. 28. But Isaac was the child of promise in his infancie, and had then the seale of the promise in his infancie, when he was but eight daies old, Acts 7. 8. wherefore wee also in our infancie are children of the promise, and have right to the seale of the covenant even then, or else wee are*

not as Isaac was. And thus Christ commanding the Gospel to be preached, commanded the fulfilling of the promises to be preached, even all and every one of the promises, without excepting any: and so commanded the promise of grace, and accomplishment of it to the seede of the faithfull even in their infancie to be preached. Likewise commanding the seale of the covenant to be applyed unto all within the promise, as freely and generally, now as ever it was of old, not excepting infants: hee commanded infants to be sealed by baptisme, as they were sealed before by circumcision. And seeing all beleivers are by his commission to be baptized: the infants of the Church being beleivers (in respect of the beginning of faith, though not actually) as I have formerly proved, they are also to bee baptized by vertue of Christs commission, *Mar. 16. Mat. 28.* that so the promises unto the fathers may bee confirmed, and the Gentiles (as well as the circumcision, that is, the Jewes) may glorifie God for his mercy. *Rom. 15. 8. 9.*

Now I will proceede to answer their exceptions, beginning first with this about circumcision, and the Covenant with Abraham.

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1. *There was a commandement for circumcision, Gen. 17. there is none for baptisme of infants:*

Ans. This is before disproved; and a commandement shewed *Mar. 16:* For the sealing of the seede of the faithfull in infancie, was a part of the Gospel; seeing the Gospel is the fulfilling of the covenant and promise made to the Fathers, and to Abraham in speciall, *Act. 13. 32. 33, Luk. 1. 55. 73.* If it bee objected, that that baptizing of infants is not there particularly expressed: I answer, neither are other parts of the Gospel particularly expressed there: but the Gospel in generall being to be proclaimed, all parts of the Gospel (wherof sealing the infants is one) are necessarily implied. Note also that things are taught and commanded sometime in Scripture, though not in expresse words: as the Trinitie of persons in the unity of the Godhead, the resurrection of the dead, (as Christ proveth) was taught in *Exod. 3.* Eternall life in heaven, and eternall death in hell are not expressed in Moses law: nor that they should have Synagogues in every citie for the people to meet on the Sabbath. Neither in the new Testament is it taught in expresse words, that
Christ

Christ is coessentiall, coequall, coeternall, with the Father: or, that his death and obedience is the merit of our righteousnesse, or satisfaction for our sinnes: nor expressly commanded that women should receive the Lords supper, nor example that any did: with sundry other things which though they be not expressed in plainewords, yet are they soundly to be proved by arguments from the scripture.

2. *That commandement included males only, children or servants though unbelievers, and excluded all females, though believers: so doth not baptisme.*

Ans. 1 It is untruly sayd that servants unbelievers were to be circumcised: they feigne this, the scripture teacheth them not so, but the contrary. For circumcision was the *seale of the righteousnesse of faith*, Rom. 4. 11. and should it be set upon unbelievers, which had no righteousnesse, no faith? So God should be made the author of a false and lying seale: to signifie and to assure the things which were not. Againe, every circumcised person was to eate the Paschever, and had al other privileges of Israels law, Exod. 12. 48. 49. the Paschever signified Christ, and the eating of it life by Christ, 1 Cor. 5. 7. 8. Ioh. 6. 57. But no unbeliever had these benefits. And if unbelievers and Israelites had communion together in circumcision, Paschever, and other holy things, then was the Church of Israel no communion of Saints, but a mixture with all sorts of infidels, whosoever would, contrary to Exod. 19. 5. 6. Levit. 19. 2. and 20. 7. Deut. 14. 1. 2. & 26. 18, 19. Levit. 20. 26. 1 King. 8. 53. Though females (wanting that part of the body) were not outwardly circumcised, for that foreskine which was not, could not be cut off: yet may we not say they were excluded, forthen they might not have eaten the Paschever, Exod. 12. 48. They were within the covenant (Deut. 29. 10. 11, 12.) and implied in the males. As the men had that signe of purification (according to the nature of the male) which women had not: so women had another kind of purification (according to the nature of the female) which men had not, Levit. 12. Each sex had their portion in the things that figured their redemption by Christ, according to their severall natures. Therefore when the outward signe was changed from circumcising to baptizing, whereof the female is as capable as the male, both sexes

are

are baptized. *Act. 8. 12.* So infants now are as capable of baptism, as they were of circumcision, there is nothing therefore to debarre them from it.

2. *The law required circumcision to be performed on the eight day: so doth not the law of baptism.*

Ans. What of this? the law of baptism appointeth no day at all for any: shall none therefore be at all baptized? The law required the Passeeover to be kept on the 14. day of the first moneth, *Exod. 12.* The law of Christ appointeth no day when to eate the Lords supper; yet it is the same in substance that the Passeeover was, *1 Cor. 5. 7, 8.* so baptism is the same in substance that circumcision was, *Coloss. 2. 11, 12.* and as all may now eate the Lords supper, which might then eate the Paschall: so all may now be baptized, which then were circumcised.

4. *But when faith is manifested, then is baptism to be performed.*

Ans. They meane by *manifestation*, profession with mouth, and by *then* they meane not before that time. This is denied, and formerly disproved, and they have no one word of God to confirm their doctrine.

2. Though infants manifest no faith by their owne mouth, yet the mouth of God manifests them to have faith in the beginning or seede thereof, because he testifieth them to be *holy*, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* which is not without faith: and testifieth them to have grace and righteousness by Christ, answerable to the corruption and unrighteousness which they have by Adam, *Rom. 5.* as is before declared.

Again they say, *Neither circumcision nor baptism, are scales of the covenant of life and salvation: that which is now the scale, was ever the same, which is the holy spirit of promise, 2 Cor. 1. 22. Ephes. 1. 13. &c. 4. 30.*

Ans. A bold untruth contradicting the Apostle who calleth the signe of circumcision, the scale of the righteousness of faith, *Rom. 4. 11.* and righteousness of faith is life and salvation, *Gal. 3. 11. Eph. 2. 8.* and the covenant which circumcision sealed was that the Lord would be their God, *Gen. 17. 7. 10.* and so he would give them life and salvation, *Rev. 21. 3. 4.* Whereas they except, *The Spirit is the scale:* it is true; but they should observe that it is an invisible scale in the heart; whereas Paul speaketh

keth of an outward visible seale, which is also a signe and on the body. Again, the covenant may have more seales then one: so that if the Spirit were an outward seale, yet might circumcision be a seale also of the same thing. Moses calleth circumcision a *signe or token*, Gen. 17. 11. but he no where calleth it a *seale*: yet Paul calleth it a seale, because in truth it was so, and more then a bare signe. For a signe is to make some other thing knowne unto us, as the doole-stone or land-marke is for distinction of grounds: or it is further to put us in minde of things formerly done, as the stones at Gilgall were for a memoriall to Israell how their Fathers passed through Jordan, *Iosh. 4. 20. 21. 22.* But a seale goeth yet further, and certifieth or assureth of any promise or gift. Now because circumcision was such a signe as assured unto Abraham his righteousness by faith in Christ the promised seede: therefore the Apostle rightly calleth it a seale. Upon which ground we also rightly call the Paschever, Baptisme and our Lords Supper *Scales*, because they are such signes as certifie and assure us of forgivenesse of sinnes, and of righteousness and salvation by Christ. And from this we have a most certaine ground for the baptisme of infants: because baptisme is no more now, then circumcision was of old, namely a signe and seale of righteousness by faith. And if infants had such a seale under the promise of the Gospell: how should it with any colour be denied now under the performance of that promise? Unless we will say, Christ hath not confirmed the promises made unto the Fathers, contrary to Rom. 15. 8. 2 Cor. 1. 20.

Further they say, *There is but two Covenants, the Law and the Gospell, the Old and the New, Gal. 4. The old covenant, the Law, was made with the children of Abraham after the flesh, and had circumcision in their flesh for a signe thereof. The New covenant the Gospell, is not made but with the one seed, Gal. 3. 15, that are of the faith of Abraham. The children of the flesh are not they to whom this covenant is made, Rom. 9. 8. the children of the flesh must be put out, &c. Gal. 4. 30. So that the covenant with Abraham and his children after the flesh, was not the covenant of life and salvation; it was the covenant of workes, of the law, &c.* Pag. 146.

Ans. In this their plea, there is a little truth, but much error and delusion. It is true, there were but two covenants, the Law and the Gospell. There is sophistry and delusion in their

their saying, the covenant of the Law was with the children of Abraham *after the flesh*: for as *after the flesh* meaneth naturall generation, so Isaac, Jacob, and all the Israelites, even Christ himselfe was Abrahams children *after the flesh*, Mat. 1. 1. Rom. 1. 3. and 9. 3, 4, 5. yet were not they aliens from the covenant of the Gospel. But as the *flesh* meaneth corruption of nature, Rom. 8. 1, 8, 9. and as men have no other generation of the Spirit, but of the flesh, Iohn 3. verse 5, 6. in this sense it is true, that the children of the flesh are not the children of God, Rom. 9. 8. and they are under the Law, not under the Gospel. But this is nothing against the truth we maintaine. For Isaac who was Abrahams seede *after the flesh* in the first sense, but *after the spirit*, and by promise in the second sense, hee was circumcised in his infancy. Now all the Christian Church are as Isaac, children of the promise, Gal. 4. 28. and our infants though by nature (as it is corrupted) they be children of wrath, Eph. 2. yet by promise and grace in Christ, they are children of God, Rom. 5. and therefore are to have the seale of the covenant of grace in infancy, as Isaac had, even as by Abrahams justification, the Apostle proveth the justification of us all, Rom. 4. 3. 22, 23, 24.

Errour it is that they say, *Abrahams children had Circumcision in the flesh for a signe of the old covenant or Law*. For first, the Law was given by Moses, Iohn 1. 7. many yeares after Abraham, and could not disanull the Covenant with Abraham, or make the promise of none effect, as the Apostle plainly teacheth us, Gal. 3. 17. Christ also saith, *Circumcision was not of Moses, but of the Fathers*, Iohn 7. 22. Secondly, the covenant which circumcision sea'ed, was that the Lord would be a God to Abraham and his seede, Gen. 17. 7. 10. this was the covenant of the Gospel, Heb. 8. 8. 10. Revelation 21. 3. Thirdly, Circumcision was the seale of righteousness of faith, Rom. 4. 11. but the law is not of faith, Gal. 3. 11. 12. therefore Circumcision was a seale of the Gospel promised seale of the covenant of grace.

Whereas they say, *the new covenant, is not made but with the one seede*, Gal. 3. 16. It is true, and maketh against them: for that *one seede*, is there shewed to bee Christ; not Christ in his owne person only, but Christ with his Church, which make one mysti call body, 1 Cor. 12. 12. Ephes. 5. 30, 31, 32. Now the infants of the Church are by the covenant of grace of the body of Christ,
even

even as by nature they are of the body and flock of Adam, as before (in the treaty of *Original sinne*,) wee have proved by Rom. 5. so that the new covenant is made with them also, and therefore the seale of that covenant is due unto them now, as it was in Abrahams dayes.

Next this, they goe about to prove, *That the Covenant where- of circumcision was a signe, Gen. 17. was not the same which we have now in the Gospell: because the Lord saith, it is not the same, Ier. 31. 31. Heb. 8. 6. it is a new covenant that wee have under the Gospell.* Page 147.

Ans. It is no marvell though these men so often slander us, when they dare belye the Lord himselfe. Neither doth the Prophet, nor the Apostle (in the places by them cited, or) any where say, that the covenant which Abraham had, and which was sealed to him by circumcision, is not the same which we have. I have before proved them to be one in substance by Gal. 3. Rom. 4. 11. The covenant spoken of by Jeremy, was made when God tooke them by the hand to bring them out of Egypt, Ier. 31. 32. Heb. 8. whereas the covenant with Abraham was many yeares before, Gal. 3. 17. Therefore the covenant made with Abraham by promise, is the same that we now have by performance and confirmation of that promise, Luke 1. 54, 55, 72, 73. Rom. 15. 8.

Again they say, *though Abraham himselfe had the covenant of grace promised him, by which promise he had salvation in the Messiah to come; yet had he not the ordinances of the New covenant which we have: and therefore none of his seede in the flesh could be partakers of that which he had not himselfe.* Page 148.

Ans. They grant enough to their owne condemnation: for if Abrahams covenant was of grace and salvation by Christ; then was it not of the Law (as before they pleaded) for that causeth wrath and damnation, Rom. 4. 15. Gal. 3. 10, 12. We pleade not for the same external Ordinances or manner of outward dispensation: but for the same substance of the covenant, which was of faith, not of works: and so of the Gospell, not of the Law, as Paul teacheth us, Rom. 4. Gal. 3. The Israelites Passeover of the Lambe, and our Passeover Christ: their feast of unleavened cakes, and ours, (1 Cor. 5. 7, 8.) differ apparently, in the

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outward ordinances. So their bread of Manna from heaven, ours of wheate from the earth; their drinke of water from the Rock, ours of wine from the grape, (in the supper of our Lord) how greatly doe they differ in the outward things? yet were they the same spirituall meate and drink both to them and us, even Christ as the Apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. 10. 3. 4. So Circumcision and Baptisme differ much in the outward rite and signe; but not in the substance or thing signified.

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Yet cease they not their idle contention, but further say concerning us, *They speake untruly*, in saying that the covenant which this new is not like, is that law given upon mount Sinai, Exod. 19. not that in Gen. 17. *Marke the words* (in Jer. 31. Heb. 8.) *Not like the covenant that I made with the fathers, when I took them by the hand to bring them out of Egypt, which is mentioned in Exod. 3. not, Exod. 19. then did God appeare to Moses, and commanded him to take them by the hand and leade them out of Egypt, where the covenant is mentioned in verse 6. I am the God of thy fathers, Abraham, &c. I am come to deliver them, &c. to bring them into a good land, &c. which promise was made unto their father Abraham.*

Answe. The untruth and ignorance is in themselves that so reason. For there was no covenant made in Exod. 3. Let the place be viewed. Though if there had then a covenant beene made, it were nothing to our purpose; because Abraham was dead many yeares before, and we reason of the covenant made with him and his seed, whiles he lived, Gen. 7. But in Exod. 19. 51; &c. the Lawes are promulgated. In Exod. 24. 7, 8. the covenant is made up and dedicated. And that this was that first and old covenant which should be abolished, as Jeremy foretold, the Apostle doth plainly manifest. For having shewed the promise hereof in Heb. 8. 8. to 13. he prosecuteth the same matter in Heb. 9. shewing the differences betweene the first covenant and the second, or the old and the new; and how a covenant (or testament) must bee confirmed by blood and death: which for the new was by the death of Christ, Heb. 9. 19. 16. and for the first, it was with the death and blood of bullocks and goates, where with Moses sprinkled the people, verse 18, 19, 20. And this was that action recorded in Exod. 24. done at mount Sina. Moreover

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ver observe here the same fraud: Jeremy speaketh of a covenant made; they tell us of a covenant (or promise) mentioned in *Exod. 3.* as if to make a covenant when they came out of *Aegypt*, and to mention a covenant or promise made many yeares before with *Abraham* in *Canaan*, were all one. That which is alledged of the land of *Canaan* promised in *Gen. 17. 8.* is true, as a type or figure, but not as the maine thing there intended. For *Abraham* himselfe had no inheritance in the land of *Canaan*, no not so much as to set his foote on. *Act. 7. 5.* how then did Circumcision seale that to *Abraham*, which God never performed to him? Is not this to make Gods promise to him, vaine? The Apostle is a better expositor, who saith, that circumcision sealed to him righteousness of faith, which he had before, *Rom. 4. 11.* and telleth us, how by faith *Abraham* sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange Countrey, and looked for a heavenly citie and country, which he understood to be figured by that earthly land: *Heb. 11. 9, 10, 16.* And if the possession of *Canaan* was that which circumcision sealed, then *Abrahams* servants, yea & all his sonnes by *Keturah*, and al profelytes of other families, that were circumcised, were deluded with a vaine promise: seeing none of all these had ever inheritance in *Canaan*, but onely the *Israelites* the posteritie of *Isaac*, which were numbred in *Numb. 26. 2.* to 53.

Againe, they except thus. The covenant is made in *Gen. 17.* Page 150.
with *Abraham* and his seed, not with every faithfull man and his seed: Is every faithfull man *Abraham*? what proofe for that? It is well if we be *Abrahams* seede, &c.

Ans. The exception is frivolous: for by vertue of that covenant with *Abraham* who circumcised his infants, *Isaac* his son, *Jacob* his son, all the *Israelites* in their generations, & every faithfull profelyte of the heathens, circumcised their infants. So the faithfull now, who all are *Abrahams* seede, & heyres by promise, *Gal. 3. 29.* do seale their infants with Baptisme, as of old they did with circumcision, for the promise is to such and to their children, *Acts 2. 39.* When *Paul* bringeth *Abrahams* example for justification by faith, *Rom. 4.* if any should trifle and say, what is that to us? We are not *Abrahams*: the Apostle telleth, it was not written for his sake alone, but for us also, *Rom. 4. 23, 24.* So say we; that *Abraham* gave his infants the seale of the covenant, it is

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not written for him alone, but also us. But they proceede and say, in Rom. 4. 21. Abraham received the signe of Circumcision, the seale of the righteousness of faith which he had, when he was uncircumcised, that he should be the father of the faithfull, &c. This proveth that Abraham received Circumcision to seale up his fatherhood of the faithfull, not that he received it to seale up his faith in the Messiah, which he had 24. yeares before: but a seale of his faith in beleiving God, that he should be the father of many Nations, Gen. 17. 4. Rom. 4. 17. and this was imputed unto him for righteousness, Rom. 4. 23.

Ans. They are blinde, and would make blinde. First, There is no faith that can bee imputed to any man for righteousness, but the faith that is in the Messiah; as the Apostle proveth at large, in Rom. 3. 21. 22. 24. 25. and Rom. 4. Gal. 3. 2. And Abraham beleiving the promise of a seed, which beleefe was counted to him for righteousness, Gen. 15. 5. 6. beleived Christ principally, as his seede after the flesh: for otherwise, how could all nations be blessed in him, that is in his seed, as God promised, Gen. 12. 3. Gal. 3. 8. 16.

Thirdly, the Apostle disproveth their vaine glosse, when having shewed how Abrahams faith was counted to him for righteousness, Rom. 4. 9. to 22. he annexeth, that this was written for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we beleve in him, that raised up Jesus, verse 23. 24. But if Abrahams faith had not been the faith in Christ, the Apostles argument from his example had beene impertinent.

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Finally they say, Abraham received Circumcision as none received it: and faith was required of none to Circumcision: but faith is required to Baptisme: and therefore these be but mens dreames, and chaffe in stead of wheate.

Ans. Indeed they would give us chaffe for wheate. They would have us beleve that Abrahams circumcision sealed his fatherhood, not his faith in Christ: which dreame is before refuted. They would teach us two or more circumcisions, one which Abraham had, another which other men had. But as there is one Lord, one faith, one baptisme, Ephes. 4. 5. so we finde but one circumcision, which all our fathers received. They would perfwade us, that whatsoever Paul saith, that circumcision was the seale

seale of the righteousness of faith, *Rom. 4. 11.* yet faith was required of none to Circumcision. But who will beleieve this their dreame? will God seale righteousness of faith to them that have no faith? This is to make God the author of vaine and worthlesse seales. If it sealed not to men righteousness of faith, what sealed it? Not the land of Canaan, for (as is foreshewed) no child of Abraham by *Keturah*, no Proselyte had inheritance in Canaan: no not Isaac, nor Jacob, who were but strangers in the Land, as Abraham was, *Hebrewes 11. 9.* Not the Covenant of the Law, for that was not given till many yeares after Abraham, neither could any man have righteousness by it, but wrath and curse, *Gal. 3. 10.* But had not errorr blinded their eies, they might see that the covenant sealed by circumcision was, that the Lord would be a God to them and to their seede after them, *Gen. 17. 7.* and this was the covenant of grace in Christ, *Heb. 8. 8. 10.*

Against *Peters Doctrine* in *Acts 2. 38, 39.* where he saith, the promise is made to you and to your children; they cavill thus, *where-* Page 136.
as many stumble at the word Children, conceiving that it is meant of Infants, it is here and elsewhere used often in the Scriptures for men of understanding, *Acts 3. 25. &c.*

Ans. How struggle these men against the light! It is true, that the word Children often meaneth men of understanding: but meaneth it not Infants also? The word seede, used in *Gen. 17.* often implyeth old persons also: will they therefore inferre, that the promise and seale thereof to Abrahams seed, belonged not to his seed in their infancie? So neither is there any reason to thinke that the promise to the Jewes and their children mentioned in *Act. 2.* is meant only of men of understanding, and not also of their children in infancie. For when the Apostle speaketh of the promise to them and to their children, concerning Christ and remission of sins by him, and sealing the same by Baptisme: he hath evident reference to the promise made of old to Abraham, which concerned the same things, and was sealed by circumcision: as appeareth by comparing *Luk. 1. 54, 55. 72, 73. &c. Gal. 3. 8. 16.*

Whereas the Apostle *1. Cor. 7. 14.* calleth a beleivers children holy; these men expound him thus: *If your children in your owne judgement be holy, and you doe not put them away when you are*

converted to the faith, but use them still as your children, &c. then may you keepe your wives being holy, they being of a neerer naturall bond then your children, and use them still as your wives, &c. Their reason of this interpretation is; because holinesse sometimes signifieth when a person or thing is set apart or sanctified to the beleever, 1 Tim. 4. 5 Tit. 1. 15. Thus is the unbelieving wife holy, and thus are the children holy, and not otherwise.

Answ. That children are thus sanctified to the beleever is true: but in saying, and not otherwise, they doe violence to the Apostles doctrine, and the truth is not in them. For first he meaneth not the children to be holy in the parents judgements; but telleth them his owne judgement, they are holy: and useth it as a reason to confirme his former doctrine.

Secondly, he meaneth not in respect of putting the children away from civill use as children; for so no more should be said for the children of the faithfull, then for their infidell servants: for Philemon miught and did retaine Onesimus for civill use as a servant, before he was converted to Christ, Phil. 5. 10. 11. &c. and beleiving servants might dwell and converse civilly with unbelieving masters, 1. Tim. 6. 1. 2. Yea misbegotten children and bastards were not to be put away in respect of civill use: for who should nourish or bring them up, rather then their owne parents, 2. Sam. 11. 4, 5. and 12. 14. 15. &c.

Thirdly, they corrupt the Apostles reason, which is not to this effect, If you may keepe your children, then you may keepe your wives: But thus, your unbelieving wives you may keepe, for they are sanctified unto you because the children which you beget of them are holy: and so the holinesse of the children is an argument and prooffe that they might still retaine their unbelieving wives.

Fourthly, they change the Apostles words amisse: he saith not of unbelieving wives that they are holy, but sanctified to the beleiving husband; but the children were holy.

Fifthly, the sanctification of meates, and purity of other things, mentioned in 1. Tim. 4. 5. Tit. 1. 15. is not meant of religious sanctification, but for civill uses: whereas the children of beleivers are otherwise holy, namely, in respect of the covenant of

of grace and Church of God, as is abundantly proved before, by Rom. 5. where, as they have naturally sinne and unrighteousnesse by Adam, so they have holinesse and righteousness by the grace of God in Christ. Also by *Gen. 17.* compared with Rom. 4. 11. where Abrahams (and all faithfull mens) children, are with their parents in the covenant of grace, and have the seale of the righteousness of faith. And upon this ground doth Paul strongly prove the beleevers might keep their unbelieving wives, because the children which they had by such, were (by reason that one parent was a Christian) *holy*, to wit, with holinesse of the covenant made with the faithfull and their seed. And in this respect the children of those that are in the covenant, are said to be borne unto the Lord, and to be his children, *Ezek. 16. 8. 20. 21.* whereas in the other respect, all children in the world are the Lords, *Exod. 19. 5.* And so the children of the Church are called *the holy seed*, differing herein from the seed of other people, *Ezra 9. 2. 3.* which if these opposites had understood, they could not thus have stumbled at the Apostles words, and wrested his meaning.

But they plead further, *that the Apostle saith not, else were your Infants, but else were your Children uncleane, but now they are holy: so that all the children of unbelievers are as holy by this place as infants, &c. and so must be Baptized.* Page 138.

Ans. Herein they seeke to pervert the straight wales of God: As if they should say: God (when he made with Abraham that everlasting covenant which circumcision was a seale of) said not that he would bee a God unto him and to his *Infants* after him, but to his *seed*, *Gen. 17. 7.* so that all the seed of Abraham (*Ismaelites, Edomites, &c.*) were as holy, and as well within the coveant of Grace and to bee circumcised, as the Israelites which were the generation of Isaac.

But they should observe that the covenant of mercy passeth from the Fathers to the children from age to age, even to the thousand generation, if they love God and keepe his commandments: whereas if they turne away and hate him, hee visiteth their iniquity, *Exod. 20. 5. 6. Ezek. 18. 9, 10, 13.* Children of beleevers when they are borne of their parents, (and all are borne Infants) are all in the covenant with their parents; and were of
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old to be Circumcised, are now to bee baptized. If the children be of yeares when their parents enter into the covenant, either they assent and enter into covenant with them, or they dissent and enter not. So Ismael Abrahams child, being taught of his father to keepe the way of the Lord (*Gen. 18. 8*) and not disobeying, hee was with his father circumcised at thirteene yeares of age, *Genes. 17. 25*. Likewise all children now assenting unto and walking in the faith with their parents, are to bee baptized at what age soever. But when Ismael fell from his obedience, then was hee cast out of Abrahams house, and was no longer counted for Abrahams seede, but in *Isaac* was his seed called, *Gen. 21. 10. 12*. *Ismael* was still Abrahams seede and child in nature, according to the flesh; but hee continued not still the child of the covenant, *Galar. 4. 29, 30*. nor *Abrahams* seede according to the promise. Even so, if children of beleivers now being of understanding, doe refuse the faith of Christ, or fall from it, they are to bee kept out of the Church, or cast out from it: and so the seale of grace and salvation belongeth not unto them, (*Ezekel. 18. 24. 2 Chron. 15. 2. Math. 3. 7, 9, 10.*) as it belongeth to all the infant of the faithfull, and to all their children (of what age soever) that received the faith of Christ, and abide in it with them. And these men greatly mistake if they thinke wee hold children are to bee baptised, or are holy, because they are our children by nature, (for so they are children of wrath, *Eph. 2. 3.*) but they are holy, and so have the seale of salvation, because God hath graciously accepted them into his covenant with our selves: and keepeth them in it untill they fall from faith and obedience of Christ; even as wee our selves continue in the covenant, whiles wee continue in the Christian faith, and no longer; *2 Tim. 2. 12*. As wee are the Children of the first Adam, we are all sinners, disobedient, unrighteous and under condemnation: but as wee are the children of the second Adam (Christ) wee are all holy, made obedient, righteous, and heyres of salvation, according to the Apostles doctrine in *Romans 5. 12. 21.*

Against

Against another prooffe for Baptisme of Infants, gathered from *Pauls* words in 1 *Cor.* 10. 1, 2, &c. where hee speaketh of all the *Israelites* Baptisme in the cloud and in the sea: they struggle with little reason or colour of truth. For (to omit their discourse of *Pauls* scope in bringing that in, which no way cleareth the controverfie) they tell us: 1. That *Moses* did not at all wash them with water in the cloud and sea. 2. That this of *Moses* is called Baptisme by comparison, as *Noahs* Ark is called the figure of the Baptisme that saveth us: for as the Ark saved those in it from drowning; so the *Israelites* were all under the cloud and in the sea, and therein baptized or safeguarded from destruction of their enemies. 3. That it pleased the Holy Ghost to say they were baptized in the sea and cloud, because the sea and clouds was their safety, as *Noahs* Ark was: And as *Christ* saith, they are baptized that suffer for his sake: So there is as much warrant to injoyn Infants to suffer persecution, because it is called Baptisme, as to baptize them, because the cloud and sea is called Baptisme.

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Ans. How many wrerings and windings are in these mens words?

First, they say, *Moses* did not at all baptize them with water. And why? Was there no water (think they) in the cloud and in the sea? Let them consider, *Exod.* 14. 24, 25. compared with *Psal.* 77. 16, 17, &c. and they may see there was water enough in the cloud: and they will not say (I think) that there was no water in the sea. All outward baptizing or washing, must be with water, or some other liquor; If they were not baptized with water, what other liquor were they baptized in? Not with blood, as in the Baptisme of suffering death for *Christs* sake, which they impertinently mention. Nor with wine or strong drink: for they found none such in the *Wildernesse*. If they can shew nothing but water to baptize them in, let them deny no more (for shame) that they were baptized with water. God spake to our fathers by the Prophets at sundry times (or in * sundry parts, as it * πολυμερῶς. were by piece-meal) as the Apostle teacheth, *Hebr.* 11.

By *Moses* he shewed how the cloud removed from before *Israel*, and stood behinde them, (as they passed through the sea) and gave them light, but was darknesse to the *Egyptians*;

Rom. 16. 35,
26.

1 Cor. 19. 13.
Mar. 1. 5.
Act. 16. 33.

and from this fiery cloudy pillar the Lord looking, troubled the *Egyptians*, and took off their Chariot wheels, that they drave thew heavily, *Exod. 24. 19, 20, 24, 25*. This being briefly and obscurely told by *Moses*, God after by *Asaph* another Prophet, who sheweth the manner of it; how not only the waters of the sea saw the Lord, when they fled and parted; but the clouds also (from above) powred out water when they rained; the skies sent out a sound by thunder, &c. thus the ground being softned with the rain, occasioned the chariot wheels of the *Egyptians* (sticking in the mire) to fall off, and hindred their pursuit, *Psal. 77. 16, &c.* After this the Apostle (taught by Gods Spirit) manifesteth the mysterie which before was kept secret; namely, how this passage under the cloud (which rained) and through the sea was a Baptisme to the *Israelites*: even as Christian mens washings in rivers or vessels, was a Baptisme to them. And as the manna which *Israel* ate, and water from the rock which they drank, was the same spirituall meat and drink which wee have signified by Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper, so their washing in the cloud and sea, and our washing in vessels or rivers, is spirituallly the same Baptisme. From hence wee gather the baptizing of our Infants by two arguments: 1. *All our fathers, (saith Paul) were baptized in the cloud and sea:* therefore (say we) Infants; for seeing there was no other baptism but that in the cloud and sea, such of our fathers as then were infants, were at that time baptized, or else many of our fathers (even all the infants of many thousand Families) were never baptized; wich is contrary to the Apostles doctrine. And if Infants had baptism under *Moses*, it cannot (without any colour of reason) be denied them under Christ. 2. In that the Apostle teacheth us, that the extraordinary and temporary sacraments (or seals of salvation) which *Israel* had, were the substance and truth which wee now have, though *Moses* doth not so expresse: it followeth upon like ground, that their ordinary seals; namely, Circumcision and the Passeeover, were the same in truth and substance with Baptisme and the Lords Supper which wee now have. And being the same, as Infants had circumcision then, so they are to have baptism now.

Secondly,

Secondly, whereas they say that of *Moses* was called baptism by comparison, as if it were not properly baptism: they swerve from the right way; it was as truly and properly baptism to them, as ours is to us, though the manner of administration differ: even as their Manna and Water were as truly and properly the sacrament of Christs body and blood to them, as Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper are to us. Otherwise the Apostle should not say truly, that they were *the same*, 1 Cor. 10. 3, 4.

Thirdly, *Noahs* Ark is not called the figure of Baptisme, as these corrupters of Scripture tell us: but baptism (saith the Apostle) is a like figure (or antitype) 1 Pet. 3. 21. So that the saving by water of eight men in the Ark, was a type or figure; and the saving of a few now by water in baptism, is an antitype, or like figure; both of them figuring salvation by the death of Christ.

Fourthly, neither do these men set down the reason fully and rightly, why they are said to be baptized; namely, *because the cloud and sea was their safety, as Noahs Ark was*: for though it may in some sense be granted, that these were their safety, as Baptisme is our safety, (for it is said to save us, 1 Pet. 3. 21.) yet properly they were said to be baptized in the cloud and sea, because they were in them sacramentally washed from their sins, and planted together in the likeness of his death, burial, and resurrection, as we are now by baptism, Rom. 6. 3, 4, 5. The cloud served them for three uses: 1. To protect and keep them safe, *Ezay* 4. 5, 6. 2. To guide them in the way that they should go, *Numb.* 9. 17, &c. *Exod.* 13. 21. and these two were ordinary. 3. To baptize them by powring down water, and this was extraordinary, and but one time in the red sea, for ought we finde. And in this respect, *Paul* saith, they were baptized in it.

Fifthly, their last speech of *injoyning Infants to suffer persecution*, as well as to baptize them, is spoken with a wrie mouth: for as we injoyne not Infants to be baptized, though we baptize them; so can we not injoyne them to suffer persecution. But this we say and know; as Infants are baptized into Christ, so oftentimes they suffer persecution for Christ, being with their

parents afflicted, imprisoned, banished, &c. yea, and bereaved of life it self, so that they have even the baptism of blood or martyrdom also.

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Whereas we find mention of whole households to have been baptized by the Apostles; from which example it is probably gathered, that Infants also were baptized. Against this they dispute thus. 1. *There are many households in which there are no Infants.*

Ans. This is true; and it is also true that in many there are Infants; therefore this argument is propounded but as probable, not as certain.

2. They say, *It is most sure, as the Apostle practised in one household, so they practised in all. But in the Jaylor's house they baptized such as they preached the Word unto, and such as believed, Acts 16. 31, 34. and this is most plain, that Infants cannot hear nor believe.*

Mat. 10. 13,
14.
1 Cor. 7. 13,
16.

Ans. It is not most sure, but altogether unlikely, as themselves, I think, will acknowledge. For there is no likelihood that all households to whom the Apostles preached, did believe every one in them, though some did. And they grant none but Believers were baptized. So then if the good man of the house, and the men only believed, they only there, none but men were baptized: if women only believed, they only were baptized. Therefore the Apostles practice was not always alike in respect of the persons they baptized: So for Infants, such houses as had none, we easily grant that no Infants were there baptized. But such as had Infants, their parents believing we hold that their Infants were baptized; for there is no exception of Infants at all in any place of the Apostles Acts.

The barre which they put, that Infants cannot hear nor believe, is soon removed. We know Infants can hear, though not with understanding: we know also (and have proved before) that they believe, though not actually, or professantly. And this faith begun in them in their regeneration, is a sufficient ground why Infants should be baptized, as I have formerly manifested.

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Finally, unto Christs words, *Mat. 16. 14. Suffer ye little children to come unto me, &c. for of such is the Kingdom of God:* they

they say, *It is not said, Infants are of the Kingdome of heaven, that is, obeyers of the Gospel, Luke 4. 43. but that they that enter into the Kingdome of heaven, must become as little children, for of such like is the Kingdome of God; And this is Christs meaning, men must be converted, and receive the Kingdom of God as a childe, &c.*

Ans. They speak like children in understanding. First, the people brought young children properly unto Christ, not men converted and become like children, Mar. 10. 13. For the children the Disciples rebuked the bringers; for their rebuking, Christ was much displeased, and said, Suffer the little children to come unto me. What reasonable creature will now deny that Christ speaketh here of children in yeers, not of old men like children? The children that were brought, Christ took up in his arms, put his hands on them, and blessed them: may we think he took up aged persons? Secondly, the reason why hee would have such children suffered to come to him, is, for of such is the Kingdom of God, Mark 10. 14. If he had not meant this of young children themselves, but of men like children in some condition, there had been no weight in his words; but the people might have brought unto him upon that ground, Doves and Serpents for Christ to lay hands upon and blesse: for as godly men must in some things be like children, 1 Cor. 14. 20. so must they in some things also be like Serpents and like Doves, Mat. 10. 16. Thirdly, they wrest the Text, when they expound, for of such is the Kingdome of God; thus, for of such like: as if Christ meant not the children properly, but ancienter men, like such children. They might even as well say, that when Paul writeth, I beseech thee, being such a one as Paul the aged (Philem. vers. 9.) that hee speaketh not this of himself, but of some other man like himself, that made request for Onesimus. But ignorant and unstable men, will pervert all Scriptures to their own perdition. That Infants of the faithfull are indeed of the Kingdome of God, is before proved, from Rom. 5. and many other Scriptures.

Now, whereas Christ blessed the children; they tell us, hee baptized them not, which we grant; but if they which were by nature children of wrath and curse, were now by grace made

made children of blessing in Christ; then were they indeed of the kingdome of God, and such as might receive baptism, the sign and seal of blessednesse.

Lastly, they say, *It is a blessing to Infants to be created, to live to grow in stature, wisdom, &c. to have their sight, their limbs, &c. so that Christs blessings extend as well to this life as that which is to come.*

Ans. All Gods benefits for this life and the next, are indeed blessings: But Christ blessed not those children with any such worldly temporall blessing particularly; but gave them the blessing of God in generall: and men are too presumptuous, that will without due prooffe restraints that to some particulars which the Lord hath not restrained. We know that our blessednesse from God in Christ, is our eternall salvation, *Rom. 4. 6, &c.* It was his last farewell to his beloved Disciples, to lift up his hands and blesse them, *Luke 24. 50.* and it is the summe of the Gospell, that in *Abrahams* seed (that is Christ) all nations shall be blessed, *Gal. 3. 8.* This grace *Abrahams* Infants had; this grace Christ gave to little children, and the same he vouchsafes to continue unto us and to our children throughout their generation, preserving us and them from the curse of Anabaptistrie, whereby so many errors are dispersed, Scriptures wrested, and soules perverted unto destruction.

FINIS.

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Irish Rebels favoured,
Protestants discountenanced at
the Court at Oxford
York still besieged.
Lime still defended.
And bloody war from Rupert.

(457)

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Numb. 57.

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

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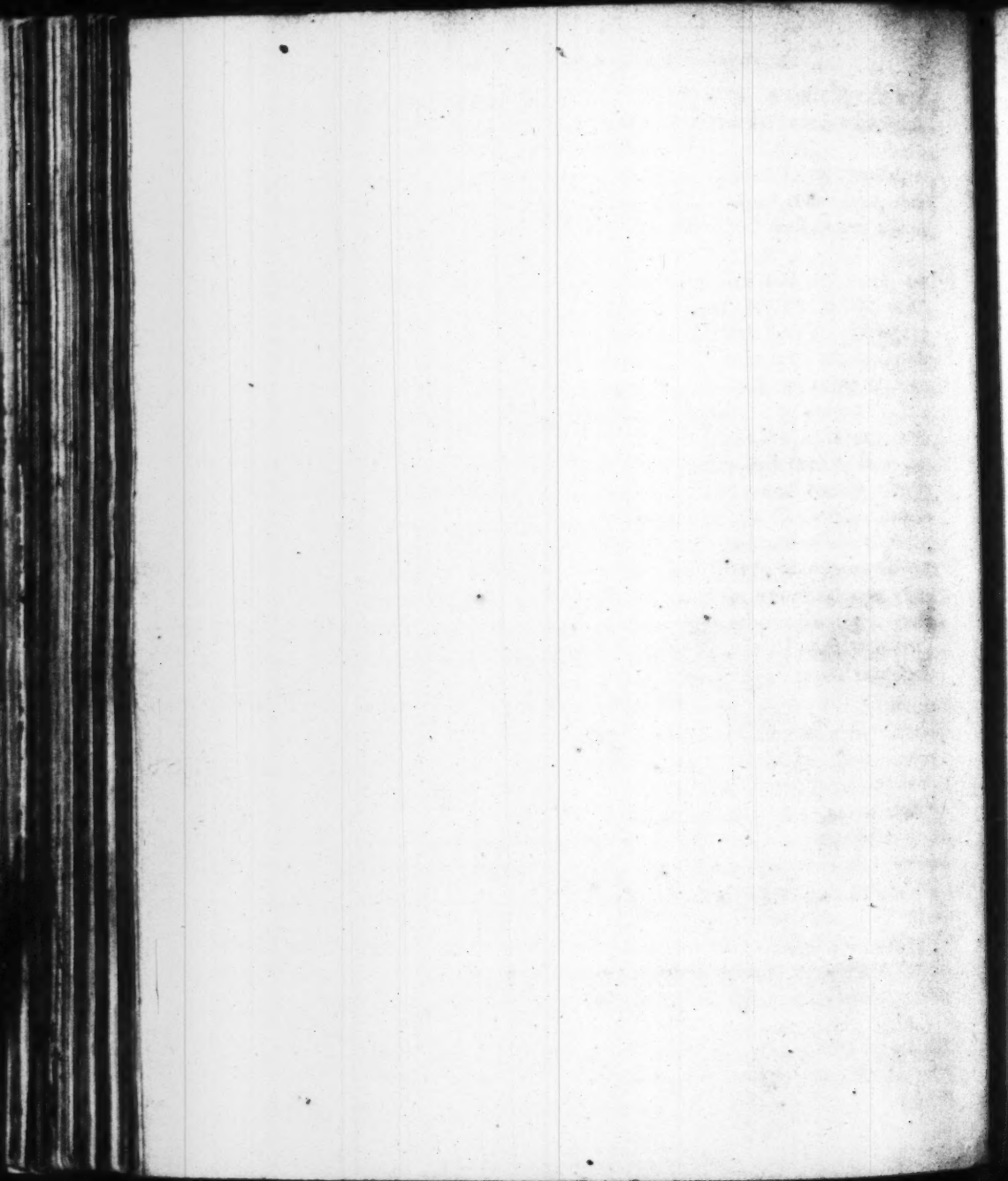
To prevent mis-information.

From Tuesday the 28. of May, to Tuesday the 4. of June. 1644.

THe Intelligence which this weeke ought to have the first place, is from *Oxford*, concerning his Majesty, and the Irish Rebels Commissioners, to whom (as it is informed by good hands from *Oxford*) his Majesty shews more favour, then to any that appeare for the Protestants: That the Lords and others of the Privy Councell at *Oxford*, as to the Irish businesse, shew all countenance that can be possible to the Irish Rebels there, and disrespect to those that appeare for the distressed Protestants in *Ireland*; The Privy Councellours that thus favour the Irish Rebels, are *Corrington*, *Bristol*, *Digby*, *Cuspepper*, *Hild*, and sometimes *Nicholas*; His Majesty hath concluded with the Irish Rebels, (his good Subjects, as he calls them) and sent them over into *Ireland*, but the Agreement is kept so secret, that none of the Protestants Agents must know it, nor any Protestant at *Oxford*, but those of that Councell: It is further certified thence, that the Protestants Agents cannot so much as procure an Answer from the King, to any one Article of their Propositions: But more of this you are like to heare of ere long; for there is a Gentleman that was taken by our Scouts neere *Oxford*, brought to Towne, who is enjoyned to set forth the truth of the carriage of his Majesty to the

Mm

Ir



Irish Rebels favoured.
Protestants discountenanced at
the Court at Oxford.
York still besieged.
Lime still defended.
And bloody news from Rupert.

(457)

9

Numb. 57.

THE
KINGDOMES
Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From Tuesday the 22. of May, to Tuesday the 4. of June. 1644.

THe Intelligence which this weeke ought to have the first place, is from *Oxford*, concerning his Majesty, and the Irish Rebels Commissioners, to whom (as it is informed by good hands from *Oxford*) his Majesty shews more favour, then to any that appeare for the Protestants: That the Lords and others of the Privy Councell at *Oxford*, as to the Irish businesse, shew all countenance that can be possible to the Irish Rebels there, and disrespect to those that appeare for the distressed Protestants in *Ireland*; The Privy Councellours that thus favour the Irish Rebels, are *Corrington*, *Bristol*, *Digby*, *Culpepper*, *Hild*, and sometimes *Nicholas*; His Majesty hath concluded with the Irish Rebels, (his good Subjects, as he calls them) and sent them over into *Ireland*; but the Agreement is kept so secret, that none of the Protestants Agents must know it, nor any Protestant at *Oxford*, but those of that Councell: It is further certified thence, that the Protestants Agents cannot so much as procure an Answer from the King, to any one Article of their Propositions: But more of this you are like to heare of ere long; for there is a Gentleman that was taken by our Scouts neere *Oxford*, brought to Towne, who is enjoyned to set forth the truth of the carriage of his Majesty to the Irish

Mm

Irish Rebels, and the proceedings upon the Treaty; and therefore I referre you to that Relation, whensoever by Command of Parliament it shall come forth, and then if the Malignants be not converted to believe that nothing but Popery is intended, whatsoever is pretended by any one at *Oxford*, though a man rise from the dead to tell it them, they will not believe it, they shall know by that relation, that an Irish Rebel is more in his Majesties favour and esteeme, then any Protestant in Ireland.

This weeke produced good news from Colonell *Massej*, who (since his businesse at *Rosse* in *Herefordshire*) hath (with the assistance of Colonell *Purefoys* Regiment of horse) marched into *Wiltshire*, and taken *Beverston* Castle, Colonell *Oglethorpe* surrendring it on conditions, then on the 24. of *May*, he fell on *Malmesbury*, and after thirteen hours fight he tooke the Town, and seven or eight pieces of Ordnance, an hundred and fifty Common Souldiers, the rest escaping through the river: The Governour of the Towne Colonell *Howard*, being summoned to deliver up the Towne for the use of the King and Parliament, assembled at *Westminster*; returned answer he would keepe it for the use of the King and Parliament assembled at *Oxford*.

The house taking into consideration Colonell *Massej*'s faithfull carriage, and the gallant services performed by him, bestowed upon him (as part of a requitall (a thousand pound *per annum* out of the estate of Sir *John Winter* (a Papist) in *Glostershire*; the engagements on his land being such, that a thousand pound *per annum* of it; is but like to come cleare to the State.

The newes likewise from *Plimouth* received at same time, was likewise very acceptable; where Colonell *Martin* sallied forth, and landed 500. men on the enemies quarters, and tooke the Town of *Molbrooke*, and nine great pieces of Ordnance, an hundred Bullocks, and 200. Sheepe, and many prisoners, and in their returne assaulted *Mount-Edgecombe*, burnt all their out houses, but could do no good on the fortified place: They tooke likewise fourty horse, and sixty prisoners, and two piece of Ordnance at the Fort, the enemy had built to hinder our shipping for comming into the Bay.

The newes from *Lime* this weeke was of the intercepting of Letters dated at *Lime* the 24. of *May*, under the hands of *Fortescue* (formerly a Parlia-

Parliamenteer) *Asburnham* her Majesties bed-chamber friend and some others of that stamp, who informe *Bristol*, and *Heath*, by their Letters, that that villanous Town of *Lime*, hath destroyed more brave Gentlemen of the West, and men of honour, then hath been lost in the West since these wars begun.

That on *May* the 25. they resolved to storme the Town for a farewell, and if they did dispute it line by line, and worke by worke, they must raise the Siege, and were afraid, the Country people would rise and cut their throats; they were so bent for the Parliament.

And further write her Majestic was so ill entertained by those Round-heads at *Excester*, that she was weary of the place, and resolved for *Bristol*.

By Letters of the 27. of *May* from *Lime* it is certified, that on *Friday* night (before that Letter bore date, or rather *Saturday* morning, the company under the command of Captain *Chase*, that came from *Chichester*, and an hundred men of *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, blew Coats sallied forth upon the enemy, commanded in chiefe by Major *Lotsford* an experienced Souldier, and beat the enemy from one of the *Scences*, seized a great brasse piece of Ordnance, and being at present, not fitted to bring it away, disabled it for further service, killed some, and took twenty prisoners, a Serjeant of *Inchiquins* being one, about so many Armes, and some working instruments; we lost not above five or six men, whereof two were Corporalls, and one gallant Gentleman wounded, Capitaine *Chase* that valliant Commander led up the body, one part of the Forlorne-hope with fourty of his men first entered the Fort; This particular, I the rather make mention of, because it was bruited abroad, as if upon that sallie, the Town of *Lime* had sustained great losse.

Monday the third of *June*, Intelligence is come, that on that day seven night the enemy (according to the designe mentioned in the Letters of *Asburnham*, *Hewley*, and *Forrescue*) they assaulted the Towne of *Lime*.

The Town Souldiers permitted them to make a breach, and run away from the defence of the worke, as if they had fled from the enemy, but when between three and four hundred of the enemy were entered, they

make use of the advantage, and cut off, and tooke every man prisoner, with their Armes and Ammunition; and had the slaughter of the enemy from other of their workes: This Intelligence comes two wayes, from *Portsmouth*, by a person of credit, and from *Dorsetshire*, from some that see some of their wounded dressed, who related the business, as aforesaid.

From the Leaguer before *Torke*, by Letters of the 31. of *May*; It is certified, *Torke* still holds out, and may yet a fortnight, and that Sir *Edward Duncombe*, hath (since the surrender of *Airemouth* and *Cawood*, surrendered *Crake* Castle, and that Sir *Thomas Gower* the Father, and Sir *Thomas* the son being Arraying of men, were fore put to it; the father taken, and many prisoners more, the party that thus disturbed them, fell on the Lord *Falconbridges* Quarters about *Helmesley*, and took in goods and monyes to a good value and divers prisoners.

They further write that the Earle of *Manchester* doth Quarter about *Selby*, and *Ferribrigs*. That his horse, and Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes*, are about *Rotheram*, and *Sheffield*, expecting *Rupert* that way out of *Lancashire*: It seemes they had not then heard *Rupers* was entered *Lancashire*, and done much hurt to the *Lancashire* men at *Bolton*, where many men were cruelly put to the sword, and four ministers denied quarter, Colonell *Rigby* wounded and taken, if not slaine; the particulars of this defeat, I have not for certaine, nor how many men were taken or slaine, under a thousand I heare.

Sir *John Meldrum* with a Regiment of *Redbankes*, and Colonell *Aston* with his Regiment are both marched into *Manchester*; no doubt more aide is gone unto them, to keepe that bloody Prince, Patron of the Irish Rebels, in a pound; that he shall not get out of that inclosed Country, till he be brought in subjection.

It will be long ere this monster of mankind, would sheath his sword in the bowels of the Irish Rebels (his bosome hearted creatures) God in due time will bring vengeance on all those that are protectors of those infamous Rebels, if they doe not speedily repent, for God respects no persons.

It is further certified from *Torke* Leaguer in other Letters, that Colonell
Charles

Charles Fairfax, second son to the Lord *Fairfax*, with twelve hundred Horse and Dragoones, and some Foote, is marched towards the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to joyne with Colonell *Widdens* Regiment, who are to joyne with the Horse at *Sunderland*, to encounter the Earle of *Montrose*, who hath taken the South *Shields*, by reason of the cowardise or treachery of the Scottish Commander in it, who did yeild the same without ever a blow; but the Captaine and his Lieutenant are both in hold, and by this are hanged for it; for Generall *Lesly* sent a Commission away from the Leaguer, to try them both; this was the twentieth of *May*.

The one and twentieth of *May*, *Montrose* and *Craford* came before the Towne of *Sunderland*, and tooke the boldnesse to summon it, Col. *Stewart* the Governour returned an Answer, that seemed to be full of resolution to oppose them; but what is since become of Col. *Stewart*, you will heare in the next: the English Seamen that were there, joyned themselves with the Scots in Garrison, and beate the Enemy back, and performed excellent service; the Parliament hath given two hundred pound to be bestowed on these valiant Seamen to make merry withall at *Sunderland*, in acknowledgement of their faithfull services; notwithstanding the Tickets under the hands of Sir *Thomas Riddell* the younger, and Sir *John Marley* Major of *Newcastle*, inviting them to come to *Newcastle*, and they should have free trade for Coales.

It is since certified, that the Earle of *Calendar* is come to *Morpeth* in *Northumberland* with seven thousand men; this comes from the Army before *Torke*; but because I once deceived you concerning his coming, I will not avert it, more then that it is so expressed in two Letters.

Cumberland and *Westmerland* seeme to threaten much, towards the contributing something to raise the Siege of *Torke*; but they feare an Invasion of the Scots that lye on the borders neere *Carlisle*.

In the second the Enemy sallied out of *Basing*, and fell upon our Quarters at *Odeam* in *Hampshire*; where the Foote of Colonell *Jones*, Governour of *Farnham* Castle, bravely defended themselves, till the Horse came to their Assistance, and then the Enemy was utterly routed, seventy two Souldiers taken, a hundred and fifty Armes, besides these Commanders:

Captaine *Rowland*.

Lieutenant *Rowland*.

Lieutenant *Jary*.

Ensigne *Lucas*.

Ensigne *Cram*.

Three Sergants.

Three Dummers.

Two Gentlemen of Armes.

And many wounded.

This weeke that Garrison will be environed with our Forces, which the Countrey is willing to maintaine, to keepe in those Theeves and Robbers at *Basing*.

Colonell Sir *Richard Onslowes* Regiment.

Colonell *Jones* Regiment.

Colonell *Morleys* Regiment.

Colonell *Nortons* Regiment.

And some Kentish Forces are consigned for this service, which will be of great advantage, for there is nothing to hinder the Trade of the Cloathiers in *Wiltshire* to *London*; but that Garrison.

If *London*, *Berkeshire* and *Oxfordshire*, would doe the like

like to *Greenland* house, they might have great advantage by bringing provisions to *London*. That base Garrison of *Greenland* house, sent lately out some Scouts, whom we hear, or at least feare it, have taken *Col. Graves*, a brave Commander, as he was going to my Lord Generall before *Oxford*, for he hath beene absent some dayes, and not come to the Army, nor returned hither; and some we heare they of *Greenland* house have taken.

I was in hope to have given you some account of our Army before *Oxford*, but the Scouts are not yet come to Towne; what Intelligence I had by Letters dated the 31. at *Islip* follows in these words.

SIR,

I writ to you on Thursday from Abington, since that, we marched that day to Sauford, within two miles of *Oxford*, where we lay very quietly, the enemy not once stirring out of the City: Sir William Waller lay that night at a village within three miles of *Oxford*, with his Army: Wednesday morning his Excellency drew up his Army on Bullington Green, within one mile of *Oxford*, and the whole Army faced *Oxford* about six houres, they not once daring to come out of the City, their whole Army was then in *Oxford*, and within lesse then three miles of it, towards *Woodstock*; they shot off three Drakes at a party of our men, which went within lesse then musket shot of the towne, but God be thanked did no execution: His Excellency was within musket shot of *Oxford* to view it, some of our souldiers run up to the very workes, and come off againe without any harme, towards night we marched to *Islip*, which lies between *Oxford* and *Woodstock*, within a mile of the body of the Kings Army: there were thirty of the enemies foote in the towne when our men went in, which slung down their Armes, and ran away, three or feure were taken, and ten came afterwards, and desired

desired to be lifted in his Excellencies Regiment, we had an Alarm in the night, but it was only the enemies horse drew up and faced our Army untill they drew their Ordnance and Carriages neere Oxford, there was a small skirmish between the horse, but there was a little Brooke betweene, that our men could not come at them as they desired, we are still at Islip, and when we shall remove is uncertaine, the enemy hath drawn his forces into a body, within a mile of Oxford.

Islip the 31. of
May 1644.

Your loving friend and serving,

Since the writing of this Letter, we heare my Lord Generall is removed from Islip towards Woodstock to scatter these forces of the Kings there, or drive them into Oxford.

Sir William Waller lies still before Oxford, and betweene Abbington and the West of Oxford.

The Lord Shandoes, and some other persons of quality have deserted his Majesties service, and come in to my Lord Generall, and are now at Alesbury: His Majesties extraordinary favour to the Irish Rebels, more then to the Protestants makes his followers leave him a pace.

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A RELATION OF THE GREAT

Victories and Successes of the Garrison
of *Plymouth*, since the last *Account*, given you in
the Continuation of the true Narration, *May 10.*

Truly Expressed from thence in two severall
Letters, the one from Leivetenant Collonell *Martin*,
Commander in Cheife there, to a Friend of his in
L O N D O N.

The other by a Captaine there, to a worthy *Minister*
of this C I T Y.

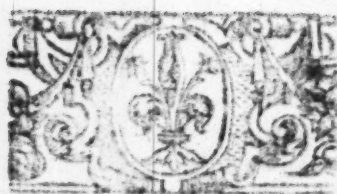


L O N D O N,

Printed by T. P. and are to be sold at the *Marigold* in
Pauls Church-yard. *June 4th.* 1 6 4 4.

RELATION OF THE GREAT

Victory of the 1st of June 1759
at the Battle of the Clouds
between the British and French
Armies in the Province of Canada
The other by a Captain in the
of this C.



L O N D O N
Printed by T. P. and are to be sold in the Strand in
St. Paul's Church-yard. Price 1 s. 6 d.

A

Letter written from *Plymouth*, by
Leivetenant Collonell *Martin*, Com-
mander in chiefe there, to a Friend of his
in *LONDON*:

Wherein is Expressed severall Victories late-
ly obtained in those Parts, by the
the PARLIAMENTS forces.

SIR;



Mong all my friends in *London*, I cannot
at present only salute you as well to
minde you of your minding us, whom
and whose condition I presume you
cannot forget; As likewise to informe
you of what great things the God of
power and mercy hath lately done for

us of this place, even since the time you left us. I beleeve
you have heard though not from me, of our beating the
Enemy at St. *Budix*, since which time in divers small
skirmishes betwixt our Horse and theirs, we have put
them to the worst, and taken prisoners.

On *Saturday* last in the morning, I drew forth 1000.
Foote, and about 100. Horse; with these we marched to-
wards *Trenmans Jumps*, but in regard the maine strength
of the Enemy lay at *Plympton*, least they might fall on our
reare, I commanded 400. Musketeeres with 25. Horse to
make good the severall wayes about *Compton* with the
rest of Horse and Foote we drew up at *Hoptons worke*,
from whence the parties were issued forth; First 145.
Musketeeres, under the command of Captaine *Hals*, who
with the helpe of the Horse fell upon and carried the Ene-
mies Guard at the *Jumps*, before any of the rest which I

commanded to second them; where come up they tooke the whole Guard not one man escaped, which were Threescore and twelve men, and about Fiftie Horse, Dragoones and Troopers, with these they retreated, and a little above *Knockins Hole* were charged in the Reare by two Troopes of the Enemies Horse, which advanced from *Warlie House*, but were by the speedy and resolute facing of our men quickly broken, routed, and pursued above a mile. Here were added to our prisoners 17. and as many Horse. There were taken about 100. Armes, Commanders and Officers, none save two Lieutenants, one Comet, and one Corporall of Horse. With these we returned, having lost only one man killed by his owne Musket, some others hurt. Yesterday I sent Captaine *Hayne* with 300. Musketeeres over the water to *Mount Edcombe*, the particulars of the service will be too tedious. They landed under the *Warren*, upon which the Enemy left all their Ordnance, which were but two Sacats, and one Demyculvering: When the passage was open, I went over my selfe, with 20. Horse, set a Guard upon *Mount Edcombe*, and by this time Captain *Dutrie* who was commanded to march to *Maker Church* who had beaten the Enemy there, who indeavored to possesse the place before him, from thence he followed the Enemy to *Milbrooke*, which was presently yeelded before my selfe was able to come up: the Enemy pretended a parley whilst their Souldiers got cleare of the Towne, yet wee recovered two Collours and three hundred Armes, three Barrells of Powder, there was only one peece of Ordnance which hee brought not off, being posselt of the Towne, I sent Captaine *Chapin* to view a great worke which they had upon *Jusworth point*, but before his coming the enemy had left it with sixe pecces of Ordnance. there I set a strong Guard till the water should come in, whereby wee might carry away the Gunnes with the Cartell which the Souldiers had taken: From thence I marched to *Cawson*, having appointed Captaine *Hayne* to attempt the Enemies worke there, the strength of which I then knew not, when I came I found him parlying with the worke, which was forthwith delivered up,

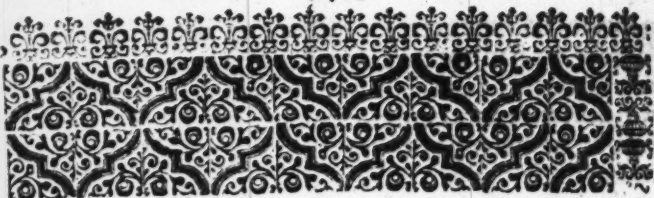
in it were but three peeces of Ordnance but an impregnable peece we had not tane then to bring away there Guns, some of them I caused to bee dismounted, there being two others in another little worke; but by this time I thought fit to returne to the Guard at *Mount Edgcombe* and sent the dispersed Souldiers there being now with mee not above forty foote and ten Horse, after this by the Importunity of some I consented to make triall of the strength of the House, which wee did, and fired the Banqueting House, but could not enter, whilst wee were thus employed, on the other side the enemy drawes up neere a thousand Horse and foote against our workes, but were beaten back, meane while a strong party of Horse were sent about by *Salt Ash*, from whence they tooke the Garrison Souldiers, and with great hast came towards *Milbrooke* and fell into the worke at *Insworth* when our Boates which had taken in the Ordnance, Men, and plunder were not halfe muket short off the shore, I was informed of their comming, and considering the strength of the House and the fewnesse and wearinesse of my men and Horses, I commanded their retreat which wee made in very good order, when the enemy had got the top of the Hills. I beleeve wee brought over fifty good horses, I could not yet take an exact accompt of them, neere 200. sheepe, with a 100. Oxen, Kine and young Cattell, prisoners we tooke not above ten, besides some Country men which I have since freed, nine peeces of Ordnance, divers of our owne men which were kept prisoners in *Milbrooke* were now delivered, wee lost at the House one Lieutenant, three common Souldiers, all which were such as had no calling there. Thus have I given you account of the goodnesse of the Almighty towards us, I hope these are but beginning of greater mercies: Men from all parts come in to us daily, had we but money to pay them; you can hardly imagine the greatnesse of our streights for want of it, pray Sir as you tender the welfare of this place, sollicite earnestly for a supply for us, wee should not want men could we but afford them ordinary encouragement.

Sir I am your ready friend.

Plymouth May 16.

1644.

ROBERT MARTIN.



A
TRUE COPY OF

A Letter written from *Plymouth*,
May, 16. by a Captain there, to a wor-
thy *Minister* of this *Citie*

SIR,



IN CE my last unto You, it hath plea-
sed God to bleſſe our endeavours, and
to give us ſome victories over our E-
nemies; which I ſhall here give you a
certain Relation of.

On the 11th. of this inſtant *May*,
we ſallied out into the Enemies Quar-
ters at the *ſumpe*, where they had a guard of Horſe and
ſooke, they being neere 80. All which were killed and ta-
ken by our men, with the looſſe of one man only on our
ſide. We killed an Iriſh Commander that would take no
quarter after we had gotten the worke, and the reſt we
brought away priſoners with their armes: The Enemy
then having his alarum in other quarters, gathered toge-
ther, and followed our men as they retreated: but our
men were armed with ſuch reſolution, as that they
thought

thought it dishonorable for them to come off without opposing them also, which they did with good successe. We killed 6. or 7. of them, and tooke 17. prisoners: In all that day we tooke 88. prisoners, besides those that were slaine, were 60. Horse and about 100. mens armes.

On the 15th. of this instant, we steered our course another way, and fell over on th *Cornish-side*, where it pleased God to give us wonderfull successe: We landed our men not farre from *Mount Edgcombe*, where they kept their guards, but upon our first onsett they forooke their guards, and left their guns, and betooke themselves to the House, we leaving a party to keepe play with the House, drew away a good party further into the Country. We first marched to a place called *Maker*, where in the Church we had a barreil of Gunpowder, and tooke some few men, but the rest fled away, some to *Milbrooke*, and some to *Causan-fort*; We leaving another party to make good the Church to secure our retreat, marched forward to *Milbrooke*, where they had a Garrison of about 250. all which fled, and so without opposition of any but the Towne, which for feare of plundring yelded upon quarter, we tooke in it 7. great Guns, and many Armes, 3. barreils of powder, many great shot, which we having sent away marched to *Causan* and summoned their Fort, which yelded also upon composition, where we had five peices of Ordnance, and one barreil and halfe of powder, and some great shot. We could not bring off our Guns from *Causan*, for feare of the Enemy, being on our backs. Then leaving *Causan* we returned to *Mount Edgcombe*, and summoned the House, but they would not yeeld, whereupon we stormed it, tooke the Out-houses, and burnt them and the Banqueting-house, but the Main-house being built in such a forme and with stone, was not fiered. The night drawing on, and the Enemy being on our backs we retreated, bringing over with us 50. Horse, 100. heade of Cattle, and neere 200. Sheepe, and 3. peices of Ordnance from under *Mount Edgcombe*, that played upon the

the Boats which passed up to *Sone-house*, we tooke 12. in all and brought them away. We tooke this day about 200. mens armes.

Lieutenant Colonel *Martin* hath for the present the sole command of the Garrison and carrieth things very sweetly, to the content of all honest men. I am perswaded had he not beene here, we had beene in a very sad condition.

We are extreemly necessitated for want of Money, pray doe your utmost to procure some for us.

Postscrip.

We Issued out of the Towne one *Wednesday* the 22. of *May*, toward *Warly House* 4. mile out of the Towne, where we tooke 50. Horse and retreated with the losse of 6. men, and upon our retreat their Horse pursued us. Which being discovered a party of our Horse faced about to encounter with them, and fell in pell-mell amongst them, and tooke 6. Horse and men with their compleat Armes, the Enemy then perceiving our men to be no way daunted, but rather joyfull; and to persist with courage, they returned againe to their Quarters, that we could not see one in 4. miles about, but at *Plympton*, where we hope ere long to find them.—Added by one who was an eye witnesse of it, being now in London.

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THE FIRST
S E A R C H:

AFTER

One grand Cause of the wrath of
G O D yet against his people, in the use
of the so much Idolized *Liturgie*,
OF *Common Prayer*.

W I T H

Two and twenty Reasons from the word of
G O D, and the late COVENANT,
for the present disuse of it.

And proving it, as it is now Idolized, to be full against
the *Lawes of this Kingdoms*.

Published by Authority.

Acts 19. ver. 19, 20.

Many of them which used curious Arts, brought their books, and
burned them before all men; and they counted the price of them,
and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver:
So the word of God grew mightily, and prevailed.

Impr^{te} 4th London printed by Robert White. 1644

The Alarum.

WHile our Parliament and Assembly are disputing up to a Reformation, and carrying things on to a clearer discovery, and looking at things which are before, there is a grand Designe of Sathans working behinde them; a retaining and practising superstition and Popery in the parts of it, by certaine Ministers, who, what ever they pretend in word, and Covenant to Reformation, yet are tied to the Kings party, like Sampsons Foxes, by the tailes together, especially in their obedience to the letter of the Law; not daring, as they say, to lay downe the Popish Liturgie of this Kingdome, otherwise called the Common Prayer, till the Law do it; these Ministers are not onely many who have staid in their places, & complied with the publick Cause; but divers of them, such who have beene of late sent downe by the Parliament, and betrayed the trust of a Reformation committed to them by that honorable Senate, and reverend Assembly, embasing their owne soules and the peoples: and this I pronounce here upon these following Reasons, to be full against the Law of this Kingdome, the word of God, and the late Covenant so solemnly taken, and to the very end, equity, and intention of the Laws of this Kingdome; and this practise of theirs is not only a sin in themselves, but they make it as much as in them lies, the sin of the Kingdome, an hinderance to the power of Reformation, and an Engine; not only to stay people upon their old bottomes, but to carry them back again, if not timely prevented, into a deepe degree of Idolatry: These I finde to be the Danites in our Tribes, who have caused all our miscarriages, and kept us so even in successe with our Adversaries; and if the prayers and practise of Gods people had not weighed against this superstitious custome of an easie peace-pretending, and timeserving Clergy, we had beene lower in our affaires at this time. This is one Achan, and I am searching for more.



The Search.

I.



IT is no *indifferent thing*, being made a part of Gods worship, for that which is once drawne out, and come abroad into circumstances, becomes actually or individually either good or evill; this is an undeniable truth, both from *Scripture*, and *Schoole-Divinity*; I quote the last, because it is in such reputation with the corrupted Clergy; and further, it wants one essentiall property of an *indifferent thing*, which is this, *not to offend the weake, nor put a stumbling block before them.*

1 Cor. 6. 12.
Rom. 14. 19.
1 Cor. 10. 13.
1 Cor. 8. 9.

II.

It is *Idolized* in all those places where it is used, and this appears from the practise of the Ministers, who, if they do it from their own principles, unconstrained by the people, Idolize it themselves; if they do it, constrained and necessitated, it is Idolized by the people, and *Hezekiah removed the high places, and brake in pieces the brazen Serpent that Moses had made, for unto those dayes the children of Israel did burne incense unto it.*

2 Kings 18. 4.
Exod. 32. 1.
19, 20.
Judg. 8. 24,
25, 27.
2 King. 18. 4.

The first Search.

III.

It is unlawfull, for it is *Will-worship*, and a devised service of man, *In vaine do they worship me, teaching for doctrines, the traditions of men*; nor is it a *directory* made even and fit to the Word, as is in other Reformed Churches; it symbolizes with the *Masse-booke*, having many Popish formes in it, as appears in the former approbations it received from *Popes*, and those others of the Romish Idolatry, and the late parafels which hath justly and commensurately beene made, betwixt it and the *Masse-book*; *And what communion hath light with darknesse, Christ with Beliall? what agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols?*

Col. 2. 22, 23.
Mat. 15. 9.

2 King. 10.
27. 28.

2 King. 16. 2.
10.

2 King. 17. 41.

2 Cor. 6. 14.
16.

Reasons for the present disuse of it.

I.

Covenant.
Artic. 1.

THe equity of the late solemn League and Covenant, calls for the abolition of it, we having Covenanted against all communion with Popery, and Popish rites, &c. against whatsoever *makes against the power of godlinesse*, superstition; now what grosse hypocrisie is this, to renounce superstitions in word, and not in practise, and deed, to fight against the Prelaticall Protestant in the field, and symbolize with them in the Church, to Covenant to an immediate Reformation to the word of God, and best Reformed Churches, and retaine that which is offensive to them all.

2 King. 10. 29.

II.

That the only ground of extirpation of Episcopacy, was this, because it was not a forme of government according to the word, *no more is this a directory according to the word*, and while we extirpate Episcopacy, and leave its directory and Rites standing; what is it but to flatter our owne hearts, like *Saul*, saying,

The first Search.

3

saying, *I have performed all the Commandements of the Lord; but* 1 Sam. 15. 13,
Samuell said, what means then this bleating, and the lowing of 14. 16.
the Oxen?

III.

It was a sin in our first Reformers, though of infirmity, and for the hardnesse of peoples hearts, they retained these Popish and superstitious formes, and composed such a forme as the people might be drawn out of Popery by such graduall condescendings, but we see the Designe being carnall, (with reverence to their memories) & not a *bold and cleare comming up to the word hath not succeeded*, but rather carried the judgments of many back, confirmed Papists, retarded Protestants, and clogged the advancement of Reformation, therefore now to be declined.

Exod. 3. 1. 2.

Revel. 21. 8.

I V.

That we are not to feare the rage and mutinies of people in Designes of Reformation; nor are we to accommodate, or comply, as in other Civill and Politick transactions, that was our Reformers sin, (with reverence to their memories) that was *Ieroboams* sin, in setting up the golden Calves, *to keepe the Tribes from revolting*; there is no such latitude to be found in the word for the worship of God; besides the experiences this State hath ever found in their endeavours to Reformation; in the first, King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, though they went but part of the way, yet with what admirable successe, considering how they turned the streame of Popery, when the tyde was at the height, and of late what experience hath this State had? *Was not Episcopacy as much Idolized as this Book can be?* Was it not as dangerous to Covenant against neutrality too, it being the popular sin of the Kingdome? In spirituall Designes, there is no successe like that pure and unmixt policy, of doing his work, and trusting him to the successe.

Mat. 16. 25.
 Act. 17. 16, 17
 Revel. 21. 8.
 Act. 18. 25. 26
 Isai. 8. 20.
 Ezch. 43. 10,
 11.
 1 King. 12. 26,
 27.

V.

That there is no necessity of keeping up this till another directory be made, no more, then there was a necessity of

B

keeping

The first Search.

Exod. 32. 1.

Exod. 32. 4.

Exod. 32. 15.

Act. 7. 40.

keeping up Episcopacy till another forme of Govern-
ment should be erected, that was the Israelites sin, *that must*
needs have something to goe before them in Moses steed, though it
were but a Calfe of Aarons making, and were impatient to waite,
till the lawes of God came down amongst them.

VI.

1 Thes. 5. 22.

That in the reading of any part of it, or using but some of
the formes in it, it being proved to be unlawfull, there is an
inconsistency with the *Rule*, which commands *to avoid all ap-*
pearance of evill, nor can any part of it be held out, but in re-
lation to the whole (as we finde experimentally to be true)
for if you demand of any in such a ministers congregation;
whether doth your minister read the *Service-booke*, or no?
The party shall answer, yea, relating to the notion of the
whole, not to such or such a *Collect*, or *part*, and now it being
found by experience to be so Idolized, the word holds out to
us a totall abolition of it, and every part, respectively to
the whole, as in *Gideons Ephod*, the *Brazen Serpent*, *Aarons*
Calfe, which were all, and every part to be destroyed.

Judg. 8. 27.

2 King. 18. 4.

VII.

That no Minister can approve himselfe to God sufficiently
in saying his ends are good in the doing of it, for when any
thing becomes passively evill, it is not enough to justify the
practise, to say the end was good, for what ever the ends be,
God allows no incongruity of worship in the meanes; good
ends must be pursued by good and lawful means: now though
the ministers may have these ends in using part of it, to com-
ply with his people, that he may the better preach the word,
yet this end of his becomes embased by such a practice; no
evil must be done that *good* may come thereof.

Rom. 3. 8.

VIII.

That if the reason of holding up any part of it, be in favour
to the people, all such compliancy cannot be denied, but to
be a strengthening of their corrupted and Superstitious judge-
ments

ments in that part which is read or used, till it be laid down, and this is not to walke according to the simplicity, uprightnesse, and manifestation commanded in the word; thus *Paul* rebuked *Peter* for not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel; nor ought we to walk in *craftinesse*, nor to handle the word of God *deceitfully*, but in manifestation of the truth, approving our selves to every mans conscience in the sight of God. 2 Cor. 4. 2.
2 Cor. 1. 2.

IX.

That if the holding up any part of it be in respect to the Laws of this Kingdom, then it would follow, that it is not lawfull for any man to follow the word and Law of God, till the law of the Magistrate give him leave, and disoblige him, all humane lawes receive their equity and authority from their commensuration to the Law of God, and as the powers which are to be obeyed, are from God, so must the lawes be too, or else they are invalid, *ipso facto*: for when any law becomes contrary, or inconsistent with the law and glory of God, then the rule takes place, *whether it be better to obey God or man, judge ye?* Acts 4. 19. And suppose there should be such interruptions and obstructions still, as the law could not be enacted yet for taking them away, would these men live all their times like the *Adiaphorists* of *Germany*, still waiting and waiting, and trifling on in their Superstitious rites and usages; *He that regardeth the winde shall not sow, and he that regardeth the cloud shall not reape*: Eccles. 11. 4. This argument of the Law and established Government, the adversaries of God have alwayes held out against all Reformation, the Prelates have ever held it out against all godly Ministers, the Malignants now cry out, let the law do it; so as we can esteeme no better of many such Ministers that use this argument now, then as time-servers, Acts 6. 13, 14.
Esther 3. 8.
Ezra 4. 12, 13
15. Law-servers; who let out, and take in their consciences, and practise according to the law of the land, waving the supremacy of the law of God; and indeed they are the greatest transgressors against the Law of the Kingdome, Act 17. 6, 7.

for the law was never intended an obstruction to the power of godlinesse and Reformation; so as these Ministers like the Kings party now, take hold on the letter, and we on the equity of the Law.

X.

- That if the holding up any part be in imitation of the Apostle, who *became all to all, that he might gaine some*, they must prove first, which is impossible; that these formes are of Gods own institution, as some of the Ceremoniall Law then was, which might well privilege more connivence and condescending, and likewise that the holy spirit allowes such a latitude as they take, that is, to become all to all in any thing, be it superstitious, or Idolatrous, for such a bowing to the infirmity and weaknes of others, is not to be in things unlawful; though the end they propose be the gaining of some; *do I seek to please men?* sayes the Apostle, *for if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.*

Gal. 1. 10.

XI.

That such condescending and complying is not from the Spirit of God, but from carnall reason, as they who *believed in Christ, but durst not confesse him, least they should be put out of the Synagogue; they loved the praise of men more then the praise of God*; and like *Naaman*, who bowed in the house of *Rimmon*, and then desired the Prophet to pray for him, and like *Nicodemus*, who durst not be seen to come to Christ by day, but came by night: and like that Politician, that would not follow truth too neer, lest it dashed out his brains.

Job. 12. 42, 43

2 Kin. 5. 18.

XII.

That all such, who continue the use of the Common prayer in the parts of it, respectively to the whole; without which it cannot else be done, as it now stands, betray the trust reposed in them by the State, who are sent down to preach the word in the power of godlinesse, and to unprinciple the people from those Superstitions, which the former had laid in

by

by the constant use of the received formes and customes, and how this can be done in that just and single manifestation of the truth, which the Gospell calls for in a time of Reformation, I appeale to the *Gospell*, to which they must give an account one day.

XIII.

Whether in any such mixed & unwarrantable dispensation, as in preaching the word, & making use of these formes, such Ministers do approve themselves *faithfull Stewards of the mysteries of grace*; as the word calls them, it being required in Stewards, that they be found faithfull, and what faithfulness can there be in not revealing the whole Counsels of God, which in such complacency they cannot do, but retain the truth of God in unrighteousness.

XIV.

All the reformed Churches of Scotland, France, Germany, Geneva, New-England, &c. have been ever scandalized, and sadly offended at it, all the godliest congregations and Ministers of England are offended by it at this day, Give no offence to Jew, nor Gentile, nor to the Churches of God.

XV.

It is an halting betwixt two opinions, and if God be God follow him; it is receiving the mark of the beast in their right hand, though not in their foreheads; that is, though they make no open profession of superstition and Idolatry: And again, such mixture in worship, puts them into a condition with the Churches which God so much detests, that of Pergamos, which though she held fast his name, yet he had a few things against her, she held the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, &c. and that of Thyatira, which though she had faith, yet he had a few things against her, she suffered Fenebel to teach and seduce her servants, &c. and that of Laodicea, which he says, was neither hot nor cold; such neutrality as this of theirs, is against the Gospell, he that is not with me, is against me, and against the

present Covenant in which they are engaged.

XVI.

That the present Reformation is sadly obstructed by such a practise, because such compliancy holds more communion with the malignant and enemy, then with the godly, and prefers the indulgency of the others superstition, before the offence of the people and Churches of God.

XVII.

That the use of such formes offend against the very Law of this Kingdome, which they so much pretend, for the Law in its end, equity, and intention, never intended any such forme to be an hinderance to edification, to be a strengthening to superstition, to be an offence to the Churches of Christ, which in the use of it now becomes all these, as every where appeares, nor can they ever be able to shew us any Lawes or Statutes of this Kingdome so for it as they pretend, this Common Prayer book being so corrupted and transformed by the Bishops.

XVIII.

That those godly people who had escaped these pollutions, are easily encouraged by such an example, if not to returne, & take up these againe, yet at best to abate and coole in their detestation of them, as we experimentally find; and thus they cast water upon their zeales, and go on in a degree to quench the spirit of another, as well as their owne, which is no little hazard to their souls, by their daily familiarity and reading of it, making it by such a practise, a standing temptation, and thus they prove a sad occasion to the godly and themselves, of building againe the things which they destroyed, and *intangle themselves again in the yoke of bondage, from which Christ hath set them free, and returne again to the base & beggerly rudiments.*

XIX.

That whereas the disuse of it will be held by some impossible, in places where Ministers are weakly gifted, let them
then

1 Thes. 5. 19.
Ephes. 4. 30.

Gal. 1. 9.

then hold out the Word it selfe in its integrity, and use such other formes for the present, as may be borrowed from the more Reformed directories, and rather in such an exigency, aske water at the purer Churches, then at the Samaritans, and borrow from Scotland and other Reformed Churches, till we have of our owne; nor is there such a'morall necessity of keeping up these Formes, till another be set up, must *Aaron* needs set up a *Calfe*, till *Moses* bring downe the *Law*? we may as well, for ought I know, want this directory of our Liturgie, as the government of Episcopacy, want our old directory, as our old Discipline.

XX.

That which may further encourage, & silently perswade to a laying by these formes, is the practise of our *Parliament* of our Reverend *Assembly* of the godliest *Ministers* and Congregations in this Kingdom, which have all laid it by, and brethren, be followers of them, *as they are of Christ*.

XXI.

That seeing such a forme cannot justly be ever made use on againe by this State, according to the Covenant they have so solemnly entred into, to do all things to the word of God, and example of the best Reformed Churches, to extirpate all Popery and Superstition; which principles do virtually, and actually cast out such formes, they ought to lay downe, if they will be true to their Obligations, to the Reformation according to the Gospell, and to the preparing the soules of the people by the Word, for receiving the truths of a Reformation, and purer Directory, which cannot be done, while they suffer the *strong man* to possesse the house: Remember *Christ* had a voice before him, crying, *Prepare yee, the way of the Lord*; and his *Disciples* went before him at the *Passover*, and tooke up a Chamber before hand, and there made ready for him.

Mat. 12. 29.

XXII.

Lastly, It is point blank, and full against the Covenant; against these very Articles of it.

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Late Cove-
nant.
Artic. 1.

1. The Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches, &c.

Artic. 2.

That we shall endeavour the extirpation of Popery, &c. Superstition, &c. and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of godlinesse.

Artic. 4.

We shall also with all faithfulnessse endeavour the discovery of all such as have beene, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants or evil Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion.

Artic. 6.

We shall not directly nor indirectly suffer our selves to be withdrawne, &c. or to give our selves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality, &c.

Artic. 6.

We professe and declare before God and the world, our unsained desire to be humbled for our owne sinnes, and for the sins of these Kingdomes, that we have not as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospell, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, &c.

And our true and unsained purpose, desire and endeavour for our selves, and all others in our power and charge, both in publick and private, &c.

Each one to go before another in the example of a reall Reformation.

And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God:

F I N I S

If none of these Ministers I speake to answer me, their silence is Argument enough against them, and if any of them undertake to Answer, they must needs goe upon the same grounds with the Prelates, and Oxford party, and use their Arguments against me, and borrow their weapons from thence, and then I desire no better a discovery of such men, but shall leave them to the State as criminall. And Iasse said unto all that stood against him, will yee plead for Baal? Will yee save him? if he be a God, let him plead for himselfe: because one hath cast downe his Altar, Judg. 6. 31.



Of Education. To Master Samuel Hartlib.

By m^r John Milton

5 Jun^y 1644

Master Hartlib,

I Am long since perswaded, that to say, or doe ought worth memory, and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us, then simply the love of God, and of mankind. Nevertheless to write now the reformatting of Education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs, that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induc't, but by your earnest entreaties, and serious conjurements; as having my minde for the present halfe diverted in the persuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which, cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honest living, with much more peace. Nor should the lawes of any private friendship have prevail'd with me to divide thus, or transposse my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a farre country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this Iland. And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the same repute with men of most approved wisdom, and some of highest authority among us. Not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in forreigne parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have us'd, in this matter both heer, and beyond the Seas; either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is Gods working. Neither can I thinke that so reputed, and so valu'd as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over ponderous argument, but that the satisfaction which you professe to have receiv'd from those incidentall discourses which we have wander'd into, hath prest & almost constrain'd you into a perswasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought, nor can in conscience deferre beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to trie what God hath determin'd. I will not resist therefore, what ever it is either of divine, or humane obligation that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary *Idea*, which hath long in silence presented it self to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehension farre more large, and yet of time farre shorter, and of attainment farre more certain, then hath been yet in practice. Brieve I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreame need should be done sooner then spok'n. To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authots, I shall spare; and to search what many modern *Janus's* and *Didactics* more then ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flow'd off, and are as it were the burnishing of many studious and contemplative yeers altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleas'd you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

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Of Education. To Master Samuel Hartlib.

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By *m^r John Milton*
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The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body find it selfe but on sensible things, nor arrive so cleerly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be follow'd in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kinde of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; So that language is but the instrument conveying to us things usefull to be known. And though a linguist should pride himselfe to have all the tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteem'd a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessfull; first we do amisse to spend seven or eight yeers meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latin, and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behinde, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous education, forcing the empty wits of children to compose Theams, verses, and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgement and the finall work of a head fill'd by long reading, and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit; besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutor'd *Anglicisms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continu'd and judicious conversing among pure Authors digested, which they scarce taste, whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lesson'd thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rationall and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein: And for the usuall method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities not yet well recover'd from the Scholastick grosseesse of barbarous ages, that in stead of beginning with Arts most easie, and those be such as are most obvious to the sence, they present their young unmatriculated novices at first comming upon the most intellectuall abstractions of Logick & metaphysics: So that they having but newly left those Grammatick flits & shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climat to be tost and turmoild with their unblasted wits in fadomes and unquiet deeps of controversie, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mockt and deluded all this while with ragged notions and hablement, while they expected worthy and delightfull knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their severall wayes, and hasten them with the way

of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; Some allur'd to the trade of Law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent, and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to State affairs, with souls so unprincipled in vertue, and true generous breeding, that flattery, and court shifts and tyrannous aphorismes appear to them the highest poines of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others lastly of a more delicious and airie spirit, retire themselves knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their daies in feast and jollity, which indeed is the wisest and the safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertak'n. And these are the errors; and these are the fruits of mispending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning inere words or such things chiefly, as were better unlearn'd.

I shall detain you now no longer in the demonstration of what we should not doe, but strait conduct ye to a hill side, where I will point ye out the right path of a vertuous and noble Education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of *Orpheus* was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more adoe to drive our dullest and loziest youth, our stocks and stubbs from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, then we have now to hale and drag our choicest and hopefulllest wits to that asinine feast of sowchistles and brambles which is commonly set before them, as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call therefore a compleate and generous Education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and publike of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve, and one and twenty, lesse time then is now bestow'd in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophistry*, is to be thus order'd.

First to finde out a spitious house and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants; all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to doe all, or wisely to direct, and oversee it done. This place should be at once both School and University, not needing a remove to any other house of Schollership, except it be some peculiar Colledge of Law, or Physick, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from Lilly to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many edifices may be converted to this use, as shall be needfull in every City throughout this land, which would tend much to the encrease of learning and civility every where. This number, lesse or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their daies work into three parts, as it lies orderly. Their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

For their studies, First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashion'd to a distinct and cleer pronuntiation, as neer as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being farre northerly, doe not open our mouth in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern

tongue; but are observ'd by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward: So that to smatter Latin with an english mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French. Next to make them expert in the usefulllest points of grammar, and vntill to season them, and win them early to the love of vertue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement, or vaine principle seise them wandring, some easie and delightfull book of Education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have store as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authoritie extant, except the two or three first books of *Quintilian*, and some select peeces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of learning, and the admiration of vertue, stirr'd up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childith, and ill taught qualities, to delight in manly, and liberrall exercises: which he who hath the Art, and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectuall perswasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchlesse men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of Arithmetick, and soon after the elements of Geometry even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bed time their thoughts will be best taken up in the easie grounds of Religion, and the story of Scripture. The next step would be to the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, for the matter is most easie, and if the language be difficult, so much the better, it is not a difficultie above their yeers. And here will be an occasion of inciting and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their counrey, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waite that is made of good: for this was one of Hercules praises. Ere halfe these Authors be read, which will soon be with plying hard, and dayly, they cannot choose but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern Author, the use of the Globes, and all the maps first with the old names; and then with the new: or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of naturall Philosophy. And at the same time might be entring into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescrib'd in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of Grammar being soon overcome, all the Historicall Physiology of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* are open before them, and as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to *Vitruvius*, to *Senecas* naturall questions, to *Mela*, *Celsus*, *Pliny*, or *Solani*. And having thus past the principles of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Geography* with a generall compact of *Physicks*, they may descend in *Mathematicke* to the instrumentall science of *Trigonometry*, and from thence to *Fortification*, *Architecture*, *Enginry*, or *navigation*. And in naturall Philosophy they may proceed leisurely from the History of *Meteors*, minerals, plants and living creatures, as farre as *Anatomy*. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of *Physick*, that they may know the tempers, the humors, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity: which he who can wisely and timely doe, is not onely a great Physician to himselfe, and to his friends, but also may at some

time,

time or other, save an Army by this frugall, and expencelesse meanes only; and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline, which is a great pitty, and no lesse a shame to the commander. To set forward all these proceedings in nature & mathematicks, what hinders, but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needfull, the helpfull experiences of Hunters, fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, *Apothecaries*, and in the other sciences, *Architects*, Engineers, Mariners, *Anatomists*; who doubtlesse would be ready some for reward, and some to favour such a hopefull Seminary. And this will give them such a reall tincture of naturall knowledge, as they shall never forget, but dayly augment with delight. Then also those Poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Theocritus*, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionysius* and in Latin *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rurall part of *Virgil*.

By this time, yeers and good generall precepts will have furnisht them more distinctly with that act of reason which in *Ethics* is call'd *Proatresis*: that they may with some judgement contemplate upon morall good and evill. Then will be requir'd a speciall reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating to set them right and firm, y instructing them more amply in the knowledge of vertue and the hatred of vice: while their young and pliant affections are led through all the morall works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants; but still to be reduc't in their nightward studies wherewith they close the dayes work, under the determinat sentence of *David*, or *Salomon*; or the *Evangelis* and *Apostolic* Scriptures. Being persit in the knowledge of personall duty, they may then begin the study of Economics. And either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odde hour the *Italian* tongue. And soon after, but with warinesse, and good antidote, it would be wholesome enough to let them tast some choise comedies Greek, Latin, or *Italian*: Those tragedies also that treat of household matters, as *Trachinie*, *Alcexis* and the like. The next remove must be to the study of *Politics*; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of politicall societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the common-wealth be such poore, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shewn themselves, butt steadfast pillars of the State. After this they are to dive into the grounds of law, and legall justice; deliver'd first, and with best warrant by *Moses*; and as farre as humane prudence can be trusted, in those extoll'd remains of Grecian Law-givers, *Lycargus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, and thence to all the *Romane Edicts* and tables with their *Iustinian*; and so down to the *Saxon* and common laws of England and the Statutes. Sundayes also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of *Theology*, and Church History ancient and modern; and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gain'd; that the Scriptures may be now read in their own originall; whereto it would be no impossibility to adde the *Chaldy*, and the *Syrian* dialect. When all these employments are well conquer'd, then will the choise Histories, *heroic poems*, and *Astic* tragedies of stateliest, and most regal argument, with all the famous Politicall orations offer themselves; which if they were not only read; but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounc'd with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with a spirit, and vigor of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles*. And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which in able men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted stile of lofty, mean,

mean, or lawly. Logic therefore so much as is usefull, is to be refer'd to this due place withall her well coucht heads and Topics, untill it be time to open her contracted palm into a gracefull and ornate Rhetorick taught out of the rule of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Phalareus*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*, *Longinus*. To which Poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being lesse subtle and fine, but more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar; but that sublime art which in *Aristotles poetics*, in *Horace*, and the *Italian* commentaries of *Castelvetro*, *Tasso*, *Marzoni*, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true *Epic* poem, what of a *Dramatic*, what of a *Lyric*, what decorum is, which is the grand master peece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rimers and pliy writers be, and shew them, what Religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and humane things. From hence and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universall insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in Parliament or counsell, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in Pulpits other vestiges, other gestures, and stufte otherwise wrought then what we now sit under, oft times to as great a triall of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unlesse they rely more upon their ancestors dead, then upon themselves living. In which methodicall course it is so suppos'd they must proceed by the steady pice of learning onward, as at convenient times for memories sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, untill they have confirm'd, and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattelment of a *Romane* legion. Now will be worth the seeing what exercises, and what recreations may best agree, and become these studies.

Their Exercise.

The course of study hitherto briefly describ'd, is, what I can guesse by reading, likit to those ancient and famous schools of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Aristotle* and such others, out of which were bred up such a number of renowned Philosophers, orators, Historians, Poets and Princes all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia*, besides the flourishing studies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which *Plato* noted in the common-wealth of *Sparta*; whereas that City train'd up their youth most for warre, and these in their Academies and *Lyceums*, all for the gowne, this institution of breeding which I here delineate, shall be equally good both for Peace and warre. Therefore about an hour and a halfe ere they eat at noon should be allow'd them for exercise and due rest afterwards: But the time for this may be enlarg'd at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early. The exercise which I commend first, is the exact use of their weapon; to guard and to strike safely with edge, or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest meane to make them grow large, and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being temper'd with reasonable lectures and precepts

to them of true fortitude, and patience, will turn into a native and heroick valour, and make them hate the cowardise of doing wrong. They must be also practis'd in all the locks and gripes of wrestling, wherein English men were wont to excell, as need may often be in fight to tuggle, to grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travell'd spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of musick heard, or learnt; either while the skilfull *Organist* plies his grave and fancied descant, in lofty fugues, or the whole Symphony with artfull and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well studied cords of some choise composer; some times the Lute, or soft organ stop waiting on elegant voices either to Religious, martiall, or civill ditties; which if wise men & prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustick harshnesse and distemper'd passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their mîndes backe to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having follow'd it close under vigilant eyes till about two hours before supper, they are by a sudden alarm or watch word, to be call'd out to their military motions, under skie or covert, according to the season, as was the Romane wont; first on foot, then as their age permits, on horse back, to all the art of cavalry; That having in sport, but with much exactnesse, and dayly muster, serv'd out the rudiments of their Souldiership in all the skill of embattailing, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagema, *Tacticks* and warlike maxims, they may as it were out of a long waite come forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the service of their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopefull armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft suppl'd: they would not suffer their empty & unrecrutable Colonells of twenty men in a company, to quasse out, or convey into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant; yet in the mean while to be overmaster'd with a score or two of drunkards, the only souldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences, no certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good governours, they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own intîture, besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure it self abroad; In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a perswader to them of studying much then, after two or three year that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides, to all the quarters of the land; learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and Ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as farre as to our Navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea fight. These waves would trie all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excell-nce among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance it self by, which could not but mightily redound

dound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies, with farre more advantage now in this puritie of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the *Monsieurs of Paris* to take our hopefull youth into their slight and prodigall custodies and send them over back again transform'd into mimics, apes & Kichshoes. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty yeers of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they passe, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own Country.

Now lastly for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthfull, and moderat I suppose is out of controversie. Thus Master *Hartlib*, you have a generall view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at severall times I had discours'd with you concerning the best and Noblest way of Education; not beginning, as some have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope, many other circumstances also I could have mention'd, but this to such as have the worth in them to make triall, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himselfe a teacher; but will require sinews almost equall to those which Homer gave Ulysses, yet I am withall perswaded that it may prove much more easie in the assay, then it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious: howbeit not more difficult then I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

The end.

By

old admirer
of Christian
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A 13
G R E A T
VICTORY
OBTAINED

By Colonel NORTON and his horse, and
Colonell Jones and his foote, against Colonel
Rayden, from Basing house, neere Walnebo-
rough Mill, with in halfe a mile of Odi-
tum; where were taken prisoners

Ssrjeant Major Langley, a Mercer in Pater-noster-row, that
went to Basing, also his escape.

Captain Rawlet that was a Scrivener at Holbern bridge.

Lieutenant Rawlet at Holborne Cunduit.

Lieutenant Ivorie a Citizen of London.

Ensigne Lucas a filke dier in the Old baly.

Ensigne Corum, a Papist of Winchester.

Robinson a Chyrurgeon to the Marques of Winchester, a
Papist.

Taken besides,

3 Gentlemen of Armes

3 Serjeants,

3 Drummers,

5 Drums,

75 Common men,

100 Armes,

some horse,

4 were slain.

10 of our men which were prisoners in Basing house escaped.

Certified by Gentlemen that were engaged in the service.

Published according to Order.

June 5th L O N D O N

Printed by Andrew Cee, Anno Domini, 1644.

VICTORY

OB OBTAINED

and his home

Colonel James M. Johnston, United States Army

James M. Smith, Jr.

1000

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Sergeant Major Lewis, a member of the 1st Cavalry, was sent to bring the horses.

Lieutenant Robert A. Hildreth Chapin.

Engine Locomotive for the Oil field.
Lithograph by J. G. Thompson of London.

Robertson & Co., Surgeon to the Marquis of Winchester, &

Table

3 Gentlemen of Affairs

[Faint bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]

of our men which were prisoners in Baden took care to

Certified by Government that were engaged in the service.

Published according to Order.

1870

Printed by John C. Anno Downing, 1844.



known papers called a Council of War, it was thus
agreed:
A March 10 1793
VICTORY

Obtained by Colonell Norton, and

Colonell Jones.

On Saturday the first of June
Colonel Nortons Watch
of horse faced Basing
house, whereupon, as it
was certified by prisoners
since taken, Col. Royden
a decayed Marchant of London, who lived
at clarken well, and went to Basing to re-
cruite, being the Governour of that Garrison
with the Lord Marques of Winchester

known
councils

known papists called a Councell of Warre: in Basing house, by which Councell of War it was thus agreed:

That Forces should be drawn out and sent forth to fall upon Colonel Norton, and Colonel Jones their quarters at Odyam.

2 That they should give no quarter, but put all to the sword.

3 That two men should go along with them, one with a dark Lanthorne, and the other with Torches to fire the Towne of Odyam.

6 That they should have all the plunder of the Town for the same.

7 That they should have each man five shillings before the march.

By these and other proceedings of the Enemy, we may easily see the danger of their cruell and bloudie counsels.

And

And accordingly they drew out all their horse, and most part of their Foot, which was able to march; about eleven of the clock at night, none being left in the house only those which were upon the guard; or not able to march by reason of sicknesse.

About two of the clock on Sunday morning, a gentleman of Colonel *Norton's* Troope being Centrie, hailed them at *Walsbrough* Mill, being about halfe a mile from Odiam, who giving an Alarm to the Towne, the Watch of horse drew out, who faced them and fought with them in the lane, a little above the Mill.

They being forced to retreat with the losse of one man only, who died valiantly: afterwards the enemy fell upon the foot in their guards, who were all ready to give them an answer, and accordingly defended themselves very valiantly.

Colonel *Norton* in all this losing no time had by this got most part of his horse ready, and drew them into the field: leaving the rest for the Towne, and marching close to the enemy very furiously: fell upon them with great valour: which caused the enemy presently to retreat, and upon their retreat were taken as followeth.

Major *Langley*, sometimes a Mercer in *Pater Noster Row*, was taken prisoner, wounded, but being in poor habit, more like a Finker then a Gentleman, was let go again.

Captain *Rowles* a Scrivener at Holborne bridge also is taken, and Lieutenent *Rowles* his brother against Holborne Conduit in London.

Lieut-

Livetenant *Ivery* sometimes a Citizen of London.
Ensigne *Lucas*, a silk Dier in the old Bailly.
Ancient *Coram*, son of one *Coram* a papist in Win-
chester.
William Robinson a Papist, Surgeon to the Lord Mar-
quesse of Winchester.

3 Sergeants.

5 Drums and 3 Drummers.

3 Gentlemen of the Arms.

1 Sutler to the Army

75 common Souldiers, whereof some of
them are such as have formerly ran from the Parlia-
ment service: and are likely to receive their just re-
ward.

There were also taken a 100 foot Armes, besides
horse and Arms: every man keeping what horse he
took himself.

4 found dead upon the place, many wounded, some
very dangerously.

We lost on our side only one man, and about 7 or
8 shot, which was all the losse wee had, one being a
Lieutenant of those were hurt of our men.

The Enemies word was *Honour*, Ours, *GOD for*
us.

They that are taken prisoners report, that they
were encouraged to come forth of Basing house
gainst Colonell *Nortons* forces, to take from them
their buffe Coats and new shillings, which Colonell
Norton had newly paid their men, but they were dis-
appointed of their hopes: wee shewed them halfe
Crowns as well as shillings: after they were taken pri-
soners.

About

About 4 of the clock in the afternoone
Colonel Nortons horse marched againe up
to Basing house, and 4 of his Trumpeters
sounded first a chalenge, and afterwards two
or three Levets flourishing before the ene-
mie, but the enemy appeared not.

The same night 10 of our men, which
they had formerly taken prisoners, and used
most barbarously, & stripped naked to their
very shirts from their backs, having an hoop-
bag in their prison, with the same made
means by cutting into slips to lengthen it:
to let them down: made an escape and came
to our forces to Odyam, one of them being
a Kentish Corporall, and most of the rest
were taken when Sir *Williams Waller* was before
Basing, who tell us that there is but 7 of
our men prisoners in Basing left.

From Odyam Collonel Norton sent his
prisoners to southampton, from thence to
be sent up to London, whither in few dayes
they will be brought, If God permit.

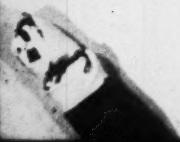
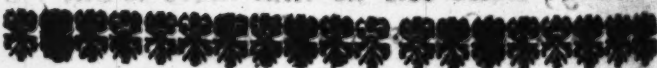
This

This is such a shake to the Garison at Basing house, that it is beleived there are scarce so many more in Basing house to keepe the Garison.

By this time if the Surrey and Suffex Forces bee come up to Colonel Norton: Basing is besiged.



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New-come Guest to the TOWNE.

That is

The Descriminant Oath which
the Earle of *Newcastle* imposeth upon
the Countie and Cite of *TORRE*, and all
others under his Command and power, violently
abusing them to the maintaining of this unnaturall
Warre against the *Parliament*, to the raine of the
KINGDOME, and themselves.

WRITTEN

By a *Yorke-Shire* GENTLEMAN,
for the good (especially) of his
COUNTRYMEN.

With a particular List of the Names of the most
Violent Papists (men of that qualitie) and others that bare
ARMES, or are ayding and assiting to the Earle
of *NEWCASTLE*.



LONDON,

Printed for *Matthieu Walbancke*, at *Grain-Inne Gate*.

June the 5th. 1644.

AN
Oath taken by the Gentry, and Inhabitants
of the C I T I E and Countie of T O R K E.

I A. B. doe hereby testifie, and declare, that our
Sovereigne Lord King Charles the firste and law-
full King of England, and of all his other Domi-
nions; and that neither the two Houses of Parli-
ament, the people nor any part of them have any
power, or authoritie over him, or the Crowne,
neither ought they, or any of his Subjects of this Kingdome of
England, or his other dominions, upon any pretence whatsoever to
take up Armes against his Sacred Majestie, His person, his Crowne,
his Generalls or Squieres, authorized by him, nor may they by
any authoritie or pretence whatsoever, make or levie War within
this Kingdome, or his other Dominions, or any way use his Royall
authority, or name for that purpose, without his evidence, & pub-
like consent before obtained. And I do further sweare, that I will
beare true faith, and Allegiance to His Sacred Majestie, and
his Crowne; and to my might and power will assist him, his Ge-
neralls and all under their command, against all such as have taken,
or shall take up Armes against him, or that have or shall
take up armes within this Kingdome, without his Majesties evident
publike, or reall Authoritie, and especially against Robert Earle of
Essex, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, (pretended generalls for the Parli-
ament) and all their associates & confederates, and all others what-
soever that derive not their authority by particular Commissions
from His Majestie, and his Generalls.

And I doe further declare, from the bottom of my heart, that
diverse of the Scottish Nation, having presumed to enter into this

Kingdome in a warlike manner without his Maiesties evident and
 publicke authority first obtained; and published: I will readily and
 to the utmost of mine abilitie with the hazard of my life, and for-
 tunes, assist his Maiesties his Generalls, and all under their Com-
 mands, in resisting, opposing, and pursuing such *Scots*, in a hostile
 way, as rebels, and traitors against his Maiesty, and enemies to
 the Crowne of *England*. And I doe further sweare, that I will to
 my power assist, and defende all such as shall take this Oath in pur-
 suance of the same; and patiently sit out this *Catig*, and *Gari-
 son* of *Torke*, and during my residence there, oppose all such, as
 shall make any attempt against it; and all such plots, and designs
 as shall come to my knowledge, that may bee prejudiciall to His
 Maiesties service, or destructive to the forces raised by His Maie-
 sties Commissions. I will from time to time discover to His Ma-
 iesties Generall, or the Commander in Chief of this County,
 and in their absence, to the Chief Officer for the time being of
 this *Garrison*; and all this I doe willingly sweare, without any
 equivocation or mental reservation, to helpe me God send his
 grace. *A briefe essay and discourse upon the Joye* not to be
 troubled or vexed with such as shall be called in question
 I Meane not to spatter or dash ink upon any person or other
 whose fame, or modestie, or credit, or name, or honour by nature, or
 custome, or man of lower counsell, and besides both by Religion,
 and the gravitie of my calling, sit upon me to beare of any
 language, which is not touching them, *Spoken by the
 Fugate, and Spreading of the Devils*; *Stratiglines* he is
 upon any but weak heads. *Wise men* as doers and won by
 soft words and strong arguments. I am a *Torke*shire man by birth
 and most by residence, and as long as I live will be a
 tor of this *Tragedy* of civil Warre, till the *Swig* was all on fire.
 That which I undertake is no more, then to bestow a few pen-
 nibles of Inke, and one halfe sheete of paper, to shew that the reading of
 this Oath, can hold no proportion with the delirious and unrea-
 sonable actions of a man either religious, and fearing God, or of a man
 not so much, than morally, rationally and prudentially. *And* *And* I would have him who is concerned herein to ob-
 serve

serve with what a specious shew the crafts-men of this Oath have laid the first stone of it, to wit, in the very words of the Oath of Supremacie, that our Sovereigne Lord King *Charles*, is the true and lawful King of England, and of all other his Dominions. Well said; but why doe you not goe on, and that neither the Pope nor any other from him, &c. hath power to dispose of his Kingdome, &c. but of the Pope, and those Ecclesiasticall powers, nor a word or syllable in this oath. You are apprehended in the very act, and the case is so plaine, that impudence it selfe cannot deny, but that it is done to advantage the Papists in their Diana of the Pops Supremacie and jurisdiction over the Crowns, and Scepters of all Emperours, Kings and Princes. Wee all know the two briefes of Pope *Pius* the fifth, to the Papists of England, and the letter of Cardinall *Bellarmino* to *Blackwell* the Arch-Bishop, declaring the sinfulness, and unlawfulness of that Oath of Supremacie, assuring that it cannot be taken with a good Conscience, that it is destructive to one of the maine Articles of the Romish faith, the primacie and superintendencie of the See of *Rome*: that it is to be retracted, and repented by those who have taken it out of weakness or feare, &c. King *James* that learned and notable Prince: tooke pen in hand, and wheeled his stile masculinely to discover these grand jugglings and impostures in a just tractate, which is to be read in his workes, the more hate and blame will lye upon those who pretending zeale to the service of his sonne, will thus expose, him and his Crowne, to the greatest enemies that ever the Crowne of England had. The Sea of *Rome*.

Secondly I would have it observed, that if this Oath and the purport of it bee bolted to the brayn and considered *à baste ad alium*, and the fairest construction allowed unto it that may be in reason pretended unto, that thus much will follow by good conclusion, that if not only the King (whom God blesse & whom we will not asperse with suspitions) but if the Souldiers and Generalls who have Commission from him (many of wch without any breach of Charity at all, according to the strictest Casuists in point of Conscience, I may and ought to be jealous of) should strive or have it in designe to introduce Popery, Liberty, and prophanenesse, Tyrannie, and Slavery, Monopolies, and Taxes, even *à l'usage*, and the

breaking of this Parliament and consequently of all others ever to succeed, further then to bee meere ly nominall, I am bound, if a wrong and unjust Oath could binde a man to any more then to repentance) both not to resist, and even to assist them therein, in the contriving and incompassing their wicked designs. Nay nothing in this Oath withstands, why the swearer of it should not introduce Iudaisme, Mahometanisme, Paganisme, if the Generalls and Souldiers who have Commission derived from the KING, would have it so.

Thirdly, it may well be noted, in how broad a difference, the Nationall Covenant (which is their *Cordolum*, and whereat they so much storm) and this Oath doth run. That propounds the defence of the person and just rights of the King, the settling of the Protestant Religion, the due liberty of the Subject, the priviledges of Parliament, the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy, the union & uniformity of two Nations, whom God and nature have made one in deviding them from all the world, uniting them in one Iland, and under one Monarch, &c.

These are heads worthy to bee the theme of an Oath, and baits which may catch prudent, and good men, and even warm and kindle a man by degrees from neutrality to Zeale.

This Oath leads a man on in a blind obedience, sayes not a word of the Cause or reasons of either offensive or defensive arms, but thinks to overawe the conscience with persons, first the King (who indeed is a venerable name, and wherein it weighs lesse then ever it did, it is principally occasioned by those who pretend to be his friends and supporters, then forsooth, his Generalls and Souldiers a generation of men, whom if we had never known or felt, perhaps we might have had some tollerable conceits of them, but whilst we know there is nothing, lesse then any thing of either a Christian, Gentleman, or Souldier in very many of them, that they have spoyled & laid wast the largest and goodliest Country in the Kings dominions and behaved themselves as so many Bore in a garden, to the infinit and irreparable prejudice of others, and even with little or none advantage to their owne side, that the generall him selfe however he may pretend to point of honour and Court-ship

ship, and indeed is a man of more stare and difficult access then the King is by many degrees, & can carry himselfe stately, keepe distance entertaine a Mistris, &c. yet in truth is one who never laid any Religion to heart, nor hath any thing of a Souldier in him, but is wholly steered by Gene^{all} King, Sir *Thomas Glenham* Sir *William Warington*, Colonell *Goring* whilst he was there, &c. men who have not an Acre of land in our County; Lastly that the most of the Captaines and Souldiers are Tygers and Beares for cruelty, bores for wast and devastations, Swine for Drunkenesse, Goats and Stealions for Lust, &c. in so much as Captaine *Legg*, when *John Onsmen* the Post-Master of *Yorke* did come and raimely enough charge him for violating the Lawes of Hospitality so farre as having the Command of his whole house he had got his daughter with Child, the Captaine tooke in verry ill that he should complaine, and said he had done more then so, he had laine with all in his house, save him selfe, and his Oastler.

Lastly, I desire the grand imposture of all may be detected which indeed hath bene the Master peece of their game, and whereby they have gained more prosyllites then by all the rest of their play, which is the frequent using the name of the King and his sacred Maiessty and the like; though in truth the same observations *Mar. S. Aug.* made of the Peligians, doth heere take the place that they did fill their mouths, and with the word *Grace*, grace, but it was only *frangere invidiam*, to break the stroke of envy: to these men *Treason*, *Treason*, *Rebellion*, *Rebellion*, the King, his sacred Person and Crowne, when all is but to put some seeming pacification on the minds of the vulgar & simple, & to cover over with some modesty their dangerous designs, and uncomly practizes. And make I pray you further how twice in this mould of their Oath, they joyne together the King his Generalls, and Souldiers as if any *Yorkshire* man who knowes the families of that Country, cannot distinguish betwixt the Sword of King *Charles*, and the Sword of an *Howard*, *Dunbarre*, *Evers*, *Falconberg*, *Castroigne*, *Sayer*, *Bulmer*, *Parvazor*, *Nyddalton*, *Meniel*, *Errington*, *Tonshall*, *Vilham*, *Sakon*, *Farfax*, of *Gillings*, *Gailes*, *Tbaine*, *Craythorne*, & many more families of that Country who are notorious, Hispaniized and Jesuited Papists, and all up in this busiess, the yongue men

with their Swords, middle men with their Councells & Committees, and the aged with their prisons, well, *non arabis cum hoc* *vit et a fino* it is an unworthy Conjunction to joyne the King & these men together, and I hope these mens swords shall never fit the Kings Scabard, but they deale iust as *Greg. Nazianzen* in his first Oration against *Julian* saith the Pagan Emperors did, who stamped together upon the same coynes the Image of *Cesar* and of the Pagan Gods, that if the Christians would not adore those Idolls, they might be guilty also of not doing homage to the Emperour, & so suffer both death & confiscation, so these conjoyne still the King and his Souldiers, that who so disrespects & disobeyes such fellowes as *Duncombe*, or *Duke Holby*, men infamous and stigmatised in their very moralls, must be said to reflect upon the King himselfe: but do I not know rancide and futile this argument? did I not see what a strong and cheite influence the Papists had on the Army and Countrey? how all painfull and honest Ministers? were banished, were they never so moderate and cautious in their expressions, or retired in their aboades, only because they would not rant and curvet in pulpits for their cause? did I not see and tell some of the Committee in *Torke* that they could not but take notice what a persecution was upon Religion under pretence of being for the King? did not the Earle of *Newcastle* in his Proclamations and edicts give the Papists that soft and oyley terme of those of the *Romish Communion*? and after did hee not (weakly and fillily enough God-wot, unlesse he would have had all the world to have knowne our *synaiocrateia*) insert in his commands, that he did command this and that *with the advice and consent of the Queene*? and I though the old Papists were more cautious in their words at first, did not such of them as were impetuous and forward, by reason of drinke, or passion, or youth, declare plainely it was not for the King they drew their Swords, but for the Queene, and for their own Religion, and preservation: did not young *Seyre* (a family of 1700l. *Per annum*, and yet must have from the Earle of *Newcastle* a grant of *Sir Mathew Boin*. 1000 rents, and others to say, that he hoped by such a day, there should not be a Round-head in *Torke shire*, I meane, quoth he, not a Protestant, but I containe.

Thus

Thus have I a little hunted as a Flea, and a Partridge, this unreasonable, and dangerous Oath, composed as I verily think, not only for and in behalfe of the Papists, but by them, or their Priests, and Iesuites, or at least, as they say, Mahomet had his Alcoran made up by a Jew, and a Nestorian Monke, to cull out of both religions, what might please most. So I doubt (I will not affirme it, for that were to undervalue my selfe to asseert what I am not certaine of) that not only some Popish Priests, but perhaps Doctor *Balcanquall*, Bish. *Bramhall*, Doctor *Cousins*, Master *Triplis*, Master *Neale*, and such have too much countenanced this Oath.

My advice in a word to my Country men is, that those that have not taken it, will trust God for protection, and not build up matter thereby, for they know not how much sorrow afterwards, if they belong to God, and those that through ignorance or frailty have, they would remember that good and safe rule, *In malis promissis rescinde fidem in turpi voto muta decretum*, and conclude as the Bish. of *Winchester* (*Andrewes*) did in the Star Chamber, in the case of the Countesse of *Shrewsburie*, who would not speake in a cause, wherein she should have given testimony, because shee had vowed to bee silent. I assure your Ladiship, *Madam*, quoth hee; you may not onely breake your vow, but vow never to make one so rash and foolish againe.



Printed according to Order.



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The Weekly Account.

Num. 40

June. 5.

Containing,

Certain Speciall and Remarkable PASSAGES From both Houses of PARLIAMENT, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

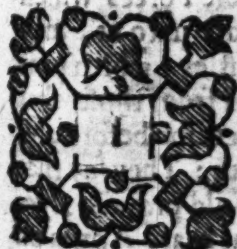
1. A full Relation of Collonel Norton and Collonel Jones their taking one Captain, one Lieutenant, and divers other Officers, with 78. Common Soldiers of the Basing Forces at Odiam; With the besieging of Basing-House, by the Parliaments Forces.
2. Of a late skirmish between the Lord Generals Forces and the Kings neare Oxford, and his taking two Bridges, with the number of those that were slain Also in what places our Armies and the Kings Forces lye.
3. Of Prince Ruperts taking of Bolton in Lancashire; and the barbarous cruelty he used there.
4. The last news from Collonel Massey, and Captain Swanlyes coming to the Parliament.

From Wednesday the 30. of May, to Wednesday the 5. of June, 1644.

Published according to Order; for fuller satisfaction.

London, Printed by Bernard Alsop.

Wednesday the 29. of May.



Hat which I have heard given as a reason by some ingenuous spirits, why they deserted Oxford (after long time of Experience there) and adhered to the Parliament; is lately acted in some parts of this Kingdome, and particularly in the County of Hereford. In the opening of which businesse, it will not be amisse, if we take a short view of the state of the Country, which for the most part was a very ignorant place (and that was none of the least causes of their present misery.) For generally those that were better educated adhered to the Parliament, and for

that cause, were persecuted and driven out of their Country, and some of them imprisoned. And when they had but one worthy Patriot to stand for the preservation of their Religion, their just Rights, and Priviledges; such a Vaile was over their eyes, that they joyne in Armes against him: And those that were dayly relieved at his Gate, come to pull down the House; and those that were strangers in the Country, (except in gathering their Revenew to spend lasciviously at Court) became the Ringleaders of the Faction. And being unable to revenge their malice upon one little Castle, without the help of the Irish Rebels, they invited them to their assistance, with promise of rewarding them, if this service could be effected, pretending that this Castle was the only disturber of the Peace of that County: and at last having obtained their purpose, and consequently thought they had settled their peace, under the protection of the Royall Army. The Irish (which were the principall Actors in this Service) demand 7000. pounds for their good service done, and upon *Non payment* thereof, they have plundered many persons of quality, amongst whom *Sir William Crofts* (who was most active in calling of them thither) was one: And herein I must needs say they shew so much Iustice, that they have driven this man from his Possession, viz. *Croft house* who was restless untill he had dispossessed many others of their birth-rights, in which manner they have served divers more, which are likewise glad to hide themselves from their fury, and suffer their goods to be taken. And although there is none that dares so much as speak a good word of the Parliament, yet their troubles are increased, and *Gog* and *Mageg* are sore divided: So that those which expect the happy fruits of a well grounded Peace, by those Forces which are raised to destroy our Religion, and all that is deare unto us, may as well seek Grapes of Thornes, and Figs of Thistles; which put me in minde againe of something that I have heard from those that have beene in the Kings Army (of which I made mention before) and lest I should herein leave you unsatisfied, it was thus: They say that if thorough Gods permission the Kings Army should prevaile, yet would there be little hopes of Peace, but those that beare Armes on that side would be divided amongst themselves: for the Papists they would

would all thinke to governe as they list, for they think His Maie stie to be of a gratefull spirit, and will not deny whatsoever they aske: And the Irish must be rewarded out of the Estates of the Protestants, be they Delinquents or others; neither should any be preferred to any place of honour and trust, but such as were notorious Papists. And who knowes whether at their request, the like Parliament might not be called in England, which is granted to the Rebels in Ireland, for the settling of their Religion?

A Petition was presented to the House, by divers Gentlemen of the County of Lincoln, which Petition in a modest Dialect was to desire, that Collonel *King* might continue that command he had of part of the Forces raised for the safety and defence of that County: Shewing in a generall manner, their sufferings before his approach thither, and therefore desired that he might abide with them, who was the instrumentall means of their redemption: Which businesse is referred to the Earle of Manchester (Generall of those associated Counties) to order the same as he shall think fit.

Thursday.

Though some passages of this day may seem old before my Book received birth (to those that have already communicated of them) yet partly for methods sake, and partly for their sakes which may see this, and have missed of other Relations: I shall begin with the valiant atchievements of Collonel *Massey*, who marching forth of Gloucester with about three thousand horse and foot, fell upon Beverton Castle, where the Enemy had placed a Garrison, and tooke sixe Pieces of Ordnance, sixty prisoners, with the Governour of the Castle, and store of Ammunition. After this, he marched to Malmesbury, in the County of Wiltshire, and tooke the Garrison there, which consisted of three hundred men (amongst which were two of the Earle of Berkshires Sons) he took also seven Peeeces of Ordnance, Powder, Match, and Ammunition. From thence he marched to Chippenham, where the Enemy kept another Garrison, but they having intelligence of the victorious successe which this valliant

Collonel had in the former attempts, slighted their Workes, and quitted the Towne, yet to prevent their boasting after a flight, as usually they have done, Collonel *M. Jeyes* Forlorne Hope met with forty of their Horse marching away, which they took prisoners, and entering the Town, found good store of provision, and a considerable number of Armes, which is both usefull and profitable for our Forces.

From the Leaguer before York, by Letters of the one and thirty of May, it is certified; That the City of York still holds out, and may yet a fortnight, and that Sir *Edward Duncombe*, hath (since the surrender of Ayremouth and Cawood, surrendred Crake Castle also: and that Sir *Thomas Gower* the Father, and Sir *Thomas* the Sonne being at this present Arraying of men, were shrewdly put to it, the father being taken prisoner, and many more of his associates: The party that thus disturbed them, fell on the Quarters of the Lord *Falconbridge* about *Helmesley*, and took in goods and moneys to a good valew, and divers prisoner.

It is further certified in other Letters from the Leaguer before York, that the valiant Collonel *Charles Fairfax*, second sonne to the renowned Lord *Fairfax*, with twelve hundred horse and Dragoons, and some Foot, is marched towards the Bishopricke of Durham, to joyn with Collonel *Waldens* Regiment, who are to joyn with the Horse at *Sunderland*, to encounter the Earle of Montrosse, who hath taken the South Shields, by reason of the cowardise or treachery of the Scottish Commander in it, who did yeild the same without ever a blow; but the Caprain and his Lientenant are both in hold, and by this are hanged for it, for Generall *Lest* sent a Commission away from the Leaguer to try them both. It is also certified that the Earle of *Calendar* is come to *Morpeth* in Northumberland with seven thousand men.

By Letters this day from the Lord Generals Army it was certified that His Excellency was before Oxford, that Sir *William Waller* with his Army, was at a place called Bullington Green, within a mile of Oxford, and the Lord Generals Forces more West. That the King was in Oxford, but Sir *Ralph Hopton* at Woodstock, that a party was going out that way, and that the Kings Forces were fled from Islip.

It being certified that two hundred and fifty Cavaliers in Greenland house had sent Warrants about the Countrey, commanding them to bring in thither a great quantity of all sorts of provision threatening to plunder them of all they had in case they were not obeyed. The Parliament gave present order for the sending of two Troopes of Horse, to attend their issuing forth, and to preserve the Country from their violence and oppression.

The hopes that we now have of the Queens conversion is; That she is so conscious of her own doings, that she dares not trust her selfe in one of the Kings strongest Garrisons, because they are English-men, which she sees now

do generally cleave to the Parliament; and therefore we heare that she was impatient with staying any longer at Excester, and said she should do nothing there but the Parliament would have notice of it, and so determined to goe to Bristol, where no doubt, but the beloved Irish Rebels will keepe her secrets and further her designs.

Friday.

Letters intercepted were brought to the Committee of both Kingdomes, directed to persons of quality, and were taken in the Countrey of Sommerfet; some of them were dated at Oxford *May 25*, and others from Prince *Maurice* his Leaguer at Lyme. The first bemoanes the condition of Oxford, and the strait His Majestie was in. The second sets forth, how the expectation of the Councels at Oxford are frustrated in the West, for it certifies that they are generally treacherous to His Majestie, and disesteemed his royall Consort at Excester. And if that all were not taken, to keep that which they were already possessed of in that Countrey; and to be revenged of *Lyme*, the West would be utterly lost, &c.

The Committee of both Kingdomes making this businesse knowne to the Parliament, it was ordered that two Members of their House should forthwith repair to the Lord Generall, and acquaint him therewith, and desire him in the name of the House of Commons, to take care to send some speedy ayde to Lyme, which was much distressed by the Enemy.

This day divers ordinances passed the House, viz. An ordinance for the suppressing and seizing of Bibles, which are imported from beyond the Seas, which in many places are found by the Assembly of Divines, to be printed very false and erroneous.

Sir *John Meldrum* with a Regiment of Red-shanks, and Collonell *Ashron* with his Regiment (as it is reported) are both marched into Manchester; no doubt but more ayd will suddainly go unto them; to stop that bloody Prince, Patron of the Irish Rebels, in a pound; that he shall not get out of that inclosed Country, till he be brought in subjection.

An Ordinance for the supplying of Collonell *Massey* with money for the maintainance of his souldiers; and it was agreed on that an Ordinance should be drawne up, for the conferring of Sir *John Winter* his Estate upon Collonell *Massey* and his Heyres, as a reward for his good service: It being notorious, that Sir *John Winter* is a gr. nd Papitt, and (till Collonell *Massey's* late victorious successe) maintained no lesse then seven Garrisons against the Parliament.

An Order for the sending of Collonell *Bellasis* the late Governour of Yorke, and

and Collonell *Ramsden* (which were this day brought to the Parliament) to the Tower of London, to be kept in safe custody.

Saturday.

Forasmuch as Collonell *Martin* the Governour of Plimouth, hath certified the House, that without a supply of powder, their store would soon be exhausted, the Parliament this day took the same into consideration, and agreed that a hundred Barrells should be borrowed of that powder which was provided for the Navie, to be sent to Plimouth, and an ordinance is to be drawn up for raising of money for the paying of that Garrison.

The Letters which came yesterday and to day from the Army, certified that His Excellency was with his Army on the North side of Oxford about Islip, and that Sir *William Waller* was on the South-west side thereof; that it was conceived His Majestie was in Oxford, and had no way to escape, without receiving a Petition from his Excellency to come to His Parliament, for his Excellency had stopped the passages to Woodstock, and Sir *William Waller* lay to prevent the Western voyage. That if he could not get the Enemy to fight (which lay about Woodstock) he would suddainly fall upon Oxford, and doubted not but to give a good account of that service.

It was this day also certified by Letters out of Yorkshire, that the Earle of Manchester was marched from Gainsborough, towards Selby in Yorkshire, and that a party was to be sent of English and Scots, to meet Prince *Rupert* in Lancashire, and to preserve that Countrey from his barbarous cruelty. Sir *John Meldrum* being already gone to Manchester, at which place some assistance was given of his safe arrivall.

A Gentleman taken by our Scouts near Oxford, that was employed to treat with his Majestie on the behalfe of the distressed and dis-esteemed Protestants of Ireland, and for presenting their propositions to the King, was this day, examined: to declare what access the protestant Agents had in presenting their just grievances, and what correspondence was had with the Irish faction. But because he is ordered to make a true Declaration to the Kingdome, I shall not need to enlarge my selfe in this point.

Sunday.

By Letters this day read in the House, it was certified that by confederacy between the Major of Newcastle, and the Governour of the Shields (which was taken by the Scots) it was plotted and contrived, that the Shields should be perfidiously betrayed again into the hands of the Enemy, which was accordingly done: and Sunderland was in danger, but was timely prevented. And the

the Seamen for the good service done in defending Sunderland, are taken into consideration, and some reward given unto them for their faithfulness in assisting the Scottish forces there.

This day an Ordinance for the raising of money for Wem, and other Forces that are to be raised for the Parliament, in the County of Salop, was read in the House of Commons, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence.

A Letter was also read in the House, dated at Odiam June the second, the effect whereof was this; That Collonel *Jones* the Governour of Farnham Castle, drew forth two hundred men out of that Garrison on Thursday last, to Odiam, within four miles of Basing-house, where (it is said) Collonell *Morley* was to meet him, and so to have straightned that place, which exceedingly annoys the Countrey therabouts, but by reason of other immergent occasions, Collonell *Morley* came not thither, whereupon the Enemy thought to have taken Collonel *Jones* in a Trap: And on Satterday night. eighty horse, and two hundred foot issued forth of Basing House, and fell upon Collonell *Jones* his quarters at Odiam, thinking before morning not to have left a man to have brought tidings, for the Towne was unfortified, and many wayes into the same, and the street very broad, yet it pleased God to put such courage and resolution into the hearts of Collonell *Jones* and his men, that when the Allarum was given, they resolved to bandy with the Enemy, and to try whether they would fight without Basing Walles, which indeed they soon wanted; for being bravely received by our men, they were quickly routed, and some of them taken, and the rest fled for their lives.

A List of the Prisoners that were taken.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Captaine. | { | 5. Corporals. | 3. Drummes. |
| 1. Lieutenant. | | 2. Gentlemen of Armes. | |
| 2. Ensignes. | | 75. Common Soldiers. | |
| 1. Quartermaster. | | 150. Armes, and divers Horse. | |

There was also a Major taken, who made an escape; many of them were slain and wounded: and onely two men left on our side.

Letters out of Lancashire this day make mention, of the most incomparable insolencies and cruelties that have been lately committed by Prince *Rupert* at Boulton in that Countrey, where after he had five severall times stormed that little Garrison, at length becomming Master of it, he hath cruelly put many to the sword, not sparing (as some say) the poore Infants.

From Windsor it was this day certified, that Major *Buxton* was gone from thence, with five hundred men and eight Pieces of Ordnance, and hath besieged Greenland House, and doubts not but to be Master of it in a short time.

Tuesday.

Tuesday.

A Gentleman of Collonel *Nortons* Regiment came this day to London, and saith three Troops of their Horse came on Sunday morning to Odiam, to the assistance of Collonel *Jones*; That the Prisoners before mentioned to be taken, are bringing up to London, and some of them being examined, have confessed that they had directions to give no Quarter, and that they should burn the Town; and for their better encouragement herein, the Marquess of Winchester came part of the way with them, and at his return back, gave the common souldiers five shillings a piece.

The same day ten of our men that had been taken by this Garrison, made an escape and came to our Army.

Collonel *Nortons* Horse marched to Basing House, where some other Forces were to joine with them, and faced it, and have laid siege against it, so that one dares not venture forth.

This day Letters came from the Lord Generall to the Parliament, declaring the affayres of the Army, and desiring a supply of Powder, &c. Other Letters signifie, that His Excellencie was between Woodstocke and Oxford, and hath taken Godstow Bridge, and they are gaining of other Bridges also from the Enemy. That there had beene of late a skirmish between a party of our Horse and the Enemy, in which Collonel *Corningham* lost an Arme, and about thirty or forty slaine on both sides, and some hurt; and notwithstanding the River was between them and us, yet were they forced to retreat. That Sir *Williams Waller* hath taken New-bridge on the West side of Oxford, and is drawn near to the City, and lyes so conveniently that there is a free intercourse betwixt both Armies; and a part of the Enemies Army is so engaged, that it is thought they will be forced to fight. That the King and Prince are in Oxford, and part of his Army at Woodstocke. That thirty or forty in a day come running out of Oxford to His Excellency, and offer to serve the Parliament.

Captaine *Swauley* (who hath performed gallant service in the County of Pembroke) came this day to the House, and declared the condition of that Countrey; shewing, that if some supply were added to the Forces which he landed there, that Country would speedily be brought into obedience to the King and Parliament.

Collonel *Massey* hath visited the *Devizes*, and seized on divers notorious Malignants and Array men, viz. The old Major of the Town, Mr. *Pew*, two of the *Buchers*, and many others, and is returned back to Malmesbury.

There is a party of 3000. horse of the Earl of Manchester and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who with a considerable party of foot were instantly to advance into Lancashire to assist the *Lancastrians*, and it is thought will so ircompasse the bloody minded *Ruperts*, that he may be quickly brought to an accompt for murdering hundreds of people, after he had promised quarter at *Boston*.

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THE PARLIAMENT SCOT Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From Thursday the 30. of May to Thursday the 6. June, 1644.

Thursday the thirtieth of *May*, the Letters that came from my Lord Generall purport his resolutions to try the Enemy that day, whether he would fight or flie, being at *Illip*, and having the command of that bridge, by which he could passe his powers, the Messenger saith, that before he came away, there was an Alarm, and he did believe if the Kings powers did not retreat, there would be a battle; but concerning his Majesties person, it was still doubtfull, whether in his Army, or in *Oxford*; most think in his Army: It is believed my Lord Generall will not attempt any thing against *Oxford* by way of intrenchments, untill he sees what will become of the Kings powers about *Woodstock*; this was the opinion of those that came this day. Provisions are going daily to his Excellency, but by land, in regard *Greenland* house interrupts their way by water.

The same day we understood that my Lord *Manchester* with his Infantry and Carriages, went from *Lincolne* the 24. past towards *Gainsborow*, and went 16. miles about, by reason of the waters, from thence they marched to *Belton* in the Ile of *Axum*, his horse being numbred with those that are joynd from the Scots and Lord *Fairfax* are 7000. and at that time were at *Doncaster*: The Scots Major Generall could not be got to Command in Chiefe nor to cast lots for it, but would have Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* chiefe; yet is he a brave and able Commander of Horse as any.

The Scots have lost before *Yorke* one *Ballardin* a brave Commander, and Lieutenant Colonell to Generall *Lesleys* own Regiment, he was needlessly over venterous; he is much lamented. We were advertised also that Colonell *Masse* had besides the Castle mentioned in our last, taken *Malmesbury* by storming, and that he is in a brave posture, and no doubt will fright the besiegers of *Lime*, and it may be more, but we will not prophesie. That brave Commander Colonell *Masse*, what shall we do for him, how shall we requite him? honour him?

The Letters from *Coventry* this day, tell us of Prince *Ruperts* advance from *Shrewsbury* into *Cheshire*, and the Intelligence holds as in our last, that he will passe by *Lancashire*, and so to *Yorkshire*, but we hope by those powers of my Lord *Manchester* and others that are designed against him, he will be hindered in his march, and attempts; its true the *Oxford* partie cherish themselves with, and speake of wonders, that he will do, and that he will have together shortly in *Lancashire* great powers, and that he will finde many friends there that hitherto have beene kept under; and many that seeme now for the Parliament, will then be for him: he is estimated 7000. besides 3000. that went out of *Leicestershire*; he hath 60. Piece of Ordnance, and 160. Carts and Carriages, which gives us to think he will first cleere *Lancashire*.

Friday, we had newes that the valiant Earle of *Denby*, had taken by composition *Rush Hall*, the house of Mr. *Lee*; in this service Sir *Thomas Middleton* Regiment did bravely, but two men lost in all; another Garrison upon the hearing of his coming fled, and a party was got together of the enemy, as some conceive, under Col. *Hastings*, to relieve the house, he bravely repulsed them, slew nine or ten, tooke some severene prisoners, and made the rest flee; we hope the Earle will joyne with the *Manchesterians*, and others that are going against Prince *Rupert*, or at least send some of his powers: This day Mr. *Bellasis*, and Sir *To. Ramden*, that were taken at *Selby*, were upon their knees at the Commons house barre, Mr. Speaker in the name of the House told them, they were men that under-

derstood the Lawes and Righes of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subject, and therefore had wittingly and wilfully gone contrary to both, and had assisted the Enemies of the King and Parliament, and therefore they were to goe to the Tower as Traytors, and bid take them away. This day the House had in debate, the rewarding of the valiant and active Col. *Massey*, and Voted him a thousand pound *per annum*, to him and his; it was first moved that he should have it out of the Lands of *Sir John Winter*, but it being said that he was much in debt, and so it was not like to be got, then it was resolved it should be had out of some other Delinquents estates; if that failed.

We hear not good of the state of *Northumberland*, those Scots that were before *Carlisle* did not come, as some conceive, because Supernumerary, and so without Commission.

In a former weeke we told you of a sad businesse done at *Wickham* up- to Yeoman men that were killed; we said it was done by Walloones, and so our Authour affirmed with much confidence, but since we hear of a certaine, they were English, and are designed to suffer according to their merit or bloody actions.

Those that came from about *Oxford* this day, tell us that my Lord Generall hath good store of men come into him daily, and that besides those, he is of his own four and twenty thousand, that he hath begirt the City on three sides, that he hath divers come out of the City with their Armes to him, by eight and ten at a time, and that it begins to be taken for granted that his Majestie is within the City, which is a most strange thing as hath been heard if it should be true; it cannot tell us lesse then that *Oxford* is in a devided condition, and that nothing could hold them together but his presence, and that there is great humbers of great ones there, both Lords and Ladies, and that there is great store of riches: If all this be true, let us now bestirre our selves; and for the Kings forces, and my Lord Generalls, they were at that instant within a mile one of another.

Saturday we understood that my Lord *Manchester*, with his infantry was come as far as *Selby*, and that they were like to assist the Scots in the Siege of *Torke*, as for the party of horse, they were still at *Doncaster*, and *Rotherham*; that there hath little past before *Torke* this seven or eight dayes, three women were going in with Intelligence, but by the nimblenesse of the Scots Nags were taken, notwithstanding they in the Town did what they could to save them; Generall *Lesley* hath sent two Regiments of foot under Coll. *Sir John Meldrum* to *Manchester* to take care of that Town; we feare from what came this day, that *Latham* house is relieved, and that we have lost somewhat else in *Lancashire*. *Sir Thomas Fairfax* is in health, and

and went out with a partie the 26. The *Gorians* many of them are neere to our party at *Doncaster*: The Lord *Fairfaxes* second son is gone into the North-riding to get some forces of foot to joine with 600. horse that are to fall upon *Montrose*, *Craford*, and *Clavering* out of them parts, and *Bishopricke*, they tooke the *Shields Fort* without striking a stroke; he that commanded it will be longer shortly.

This day we understood that the Town of *Lime* had extreemly wasted the besiegers, and that it was probable that they would be necessitated to leave it, though reliefe came not; there was Letters intercepted that were going to *Oxford*, that did purport as much, written by Colonell *Astburnham*, and *Fortescue* the valiant *Devonshire* Justice, all telling how many brave men were lost; yea, and they say that *Excester* is ill bestead, the people ready to rise against them, in case there come but any considerable power: but Prince *Rupert* chuses rather to go into *Lancashire* and to secure that County, and make it ready for the 10000. Irish, who as we understand are to come: For one, a gentleman that wished well to the Protestant party that was at *Oxford*, and since taken and brought to *London*, did this day in the house of Commons declare, that the agreement was made and sent to *Ireland* (but none of the Protestants Agents were privy to it) he made such a report, that certainly none but a Papist Wood-be, that had heard it could have said lesse then this, Popery is designed for the Master, and Protestantisme for the hand-maid, if not worse; he saith that the Irish Rebels are the onely favourites; and the Protestants Agents called *Round-heads* because they opposed the Rebels propositions, which seemes to amount to this, that the Catholique Religion be professed, as the Protestant, and that the Catholiques enjoy all other immunities with the Protestants, that that Kingdom be independent, that all former offences be pardoned to them, and all wrongs done to them made good, and then they will send over 10000. men to settle the peace of England, and force *Aulicus* his Rebels to *Romes* reason; this is right as we ever thought, make what Laws you will against Popery, and they shall be consented unto: My Lord Keeper *Coventry* must bid the judges take care that Lawes may be put in execution against the Papists, alwayes before they go circuite, but underhand they must have protections, he must declare that his Majestie will defend the Protestant Religion, and *Canterbury* gets bookes full of Images, and crucifixes, and conveys to the Clerke of the Closet for his Majestie to make use of, was ever poore Prince thus abused and wronged? can there be an English heart, that is not willing to adventure all, to wrest his Sovereigne out of the hands and power of such wretched Counsellors? When *Edward* the sixth was urged with great importunity to give Liberty

to *Queene Mary* but for her owne Chappell, it would not be granted.

But to bring it about, fixe Bishops must be sent to absolve or satisfie the consciences of those Protestant Commissioners, and perswade them to yeild that Popery may be tolerated, *Ireland* independent, Papists governe the affaires, Rebels that deserve a thousand deaths, must be worshipped and stood cap in hand to; thank your good Lordships: much like some of the Cardinals of *Rome*, sell themselves to the devill that they may be Popes; would these reverend Bishop have taken as much paines to get tender consciences satisfied: no, it sutes not so well with a Prelaticall government.

This day towards the evening, we had Letters that tell us my Lord Generall and Sir *William Waller*, were both upon their Advance against the Kings Forces.

Monday, we had a sad relation from *Lancashire*, which was that Prince *Rupert*, designed King of Ireland, and of the Papists elsewhere, had after sixe repulses taken *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, in which were foure Ministers, he put the Garrison to the sword, and the Ministers also, and some women and children; this is faire play, *Aulicus* will commend this, though he damnes the throwing over board the Irish Gentlemen, alias Rebels, but they will tell us the Prince beate the Souldiers and hanged up one of them; we make no question but he will be every day verst in the Jesuits cunnings better then other.

It may be some will say my Lord *Manchesters* Forces, &c. might have prevented this; It is answered, that what with the siege of *Torke*, the parties sent out against those in *Sunderland*, and that attendance that is necessary upon those cursed *Gorians* that worried *Leicestershire*, they can do no more.

This day we had newes from the West, from severall hands, that those brave men of *Lime* had given such a blow to the besiegers, that they had almost broke the heart of a great

Kings Bench man, they flew, say the Letters 300. of the Enemies, which makes up in all 3000. slaine of the besiegers, more then they lost at *Bristol*, *Excester*, *Plymouth*; God send the ten thousand Irish may land at *Bristol*, and be sent to besiege *Lime* and *Poole*. We had also newes this day, that Colonell *Jones* had fallen foule upon a party of broken Citizens, &c. that were going a birding from *Basing* house, they were routed, 170. Armes, taken seventy prisoners, two Captains, and to make up our losse at *Burton*, we heare also that since that house is blockt up at a distance.

This day Colonell *King* was fined in the Lords House two hundred pound to the Lord *Willowbie*, fifty to the King, and to make acknowledgement here, and at *Boston*.

This day we had an Expreffe from my Lord General, from the messenger we understand, that the Kings Forces lie so betweene *Oxford* and *Woodstock*, that they have the City open, and have ingresse and egress, when it will be otherwise we know not, cnely we hope that some powers will go West shortly, to relieve *Lime*, and doe other service in those parts.

This day Letters from *Sunderland* tell us, that the Governour of the Garrison there, is none of the stoutest hearted, if of the truest, it commend's the English Saylors, who when the Enemy braved the Town, and no returne was made, went out of the Towne, and with the assistance of some of the Scottish forces fought five hours with the enemy, made them retreat, the Governour of the *Shields* Fort, you have the prophcie of him before, what will become of the other, time will shew, this is a sad story, what hath the *Oxford* holy water an influence every where? The Saylors had two hundred pound voted to be given amongst them.

Tuesday we had news from the North, that tell us the troubles of Scotland are over, and the heads of that trouble are clapt up, it may be they may be hanged up afterward, there are three Lords of them: by the same we receive that the Earle of *Ca-*

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lendar is gone towards *Newcastle*, which hath frighted the Royall Scots into *Newcastle*, and other parts, and because they were not able to hold it, they have quit the South Shields, and demolished the workes, this is as good newes, if true, as we could have desired for present, as for the businesse of *Torke*, we are from good hands put in hope, that fourteen dayes may bring that over.

The same day we had Letters from *Leicester*, that tell us *Wednesday Nottingham* forces fell upon a partie that came from *Belvoir* and *Newarke*, and killed Captain *Thimbleby*, took Captaine *Cartwright*, and a Captaine Lieutenant, with some other Officers, and about thirty more prisoners, and fifty or sixty horse: That night they retreated intending to go into the Associations, as the prisoners confest, *Lincolne* forces fell upon them, tooke a Major, and eighty horse; Saturday Sir *Fohn Gell* drew to *Ashby*, and took 91. horse from *Hastings*, three or four prisoners, killed as many, and cut *Hastings* soundly, but not mortally, most of the horse were taken close by his house.

This is a very good businesse, in regard it hath frighted them, that they will not dare to enter the Associated Counties so soone, but that there will be a power ready to receive them.

We had from my Lord Generals Army thus much; *Tuesday*, that New-bridge was taken by Sir *William Waller*, sixty prisoners, some were slaine on both sides, not many: That the Dutch Ambassadors had with a couple of white flags been with my Lord Generall, they desired to know whether his Excellency was desirous of an accord, and to know if he had any power to Treat: It was answered, that they were English, and had their interests great, which was enough to make them desire peace, but for power to Treat, that they had not, that was to be done with the Parliament: It is not a little wonder that the Dutch Ambassadors should obtaine leave to put these Propositions.

positions, if it be considered how confident the great wheeles are at *Oxford*, and adverse, let what will be buzzed; yea, to condescend so far as that the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* are the Parliament.

Wednesday, we had no newes from *Lime* that confirmed the great defeat given to the besiegers, nor that the Earle of *Calendar* was come to *Newcastle*, yet we dare say by promise he is there, and that the Royall Scots begin to budge for feare of him.

Of *P. Ruperts* increasing in *Lancashire*, and his taking into his Army the Papists, and into Carts the riches of the Protestants, we are fully assured from eye witnesses, who saw two hundred and twenty Carts laden with spoile, and his Army augmented to ten thousand; actions that concur with his Instructions: wast and spoyle the Protestant, (thats private) Puritan, (thats open) for by *Saint Mary*, and *Saint David*, and *Saint Patrick*, theres no other to be trusted, but such as smell of *Rome*.

- As for my Lord Generall, and Sir *William Wallers* about *Oxford*, the Messengers speake the businesse difficult, and that every foot of ground admits of a stiffe dispute before it is gotten; some will tell us the enemy begins to shatter, but that we doe not believe, in regard Prince *Rupert* goes on with his recrute, who were they in any danger he will draw towards them.

My Lord of *Denby* is for *Dudley Castle*, he pleases the Committee in clearing the Country of the petty Garrisons of the enemy, we told you last he was drawing towards *Wales*, it was because we long to heare that a power be in those parts; could Prince *Rupert* have recruited as he hath, had we had a power there, sure *Wales* is not so barren a Country of Malignants, but that an Army might live in some measure upon it; but we hope Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and Sir *William Brereton*, will both be shortly there.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

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A Full and Exact

RELATION

OF THE

Severall Remarkable and

Victorious proceedings of the

ever-renowned Colonell MASSY,

Governour of Gloucester, from May 7.

to May 25. 1644.

In which time he tooke these severall considerable Garrisons of the enemies in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, namely, *Wesbury*, little *Deane*, *Newnam*, *Beverston-castle*, *Malmsbury*, and *Chipponham*.

With the Summons sent by Col. *Maffie* to Col. *Howard* (sonne to the Earle of Berkshire) Governour of *Malmsbury*; and his answer thereunto. And the names of the Officers and Commanders taken there.

As also, the Votes of the House of Commons on Friday last, concerning the supplies to be sent to Col. *Maffie*, and a thousand pounds *per annum* to be given to him and his heires for ever, out of the estates of Papists and Delinquents; as a reward for the many acceptable services performed by him.

June 4. 1644.

Imprimatur. JOHN WHITE.

LONDON,

Printed for T. W. and are to be sold in the Old-baily. 1644.

1865

REPORT

2 Vols. 1865

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A true Relation of severall
happy and wonderfull Victories
lately given unto Col. *Maffie* Governour
of Gloucester, from May 7. 1644. untill
the 25 of the same Moneth.



ON Tuesday the 7th of May the Governour marched out of Gloucester with about nine hundred foot, and his owne Regiment of Horse, and Col. *Puresoy*s regiment of Horse, two pieces of Ordnance, and other Carriage fit for the march, with purpose to remove the enemies Garrisons at Westbury, Little-Deane, and Newnam, all strongly fortified, and well provided with Men, Armes, and Ammunition; all which it pleased God miraculously to deliver into his hands. For he first assaulting the Garrison at Westbury (which was Mr. *Colcheesters* house, and the Church) he got to the Church, and with Granadoes and Pistoll-shot, the which he sent in at the Windowes, he presently made the enemy to forsake the Church, and to runne to the House: which being discerned by the Governours

Forces, the Church was quickly possessed by them; which made the Enemy forsake all their out-workes, and to cry for quarter. There were slaine of the enemy about twenty, and about threescore taken prisoners in that Garrison, with their Armes and Ammunition. Whilest the Foot was at this Garrison at Wesbury, Colonell *Masse* commanded some of the horse to march to Little-Deane, where the enemy had also fortified a house to face them, who falling suddenly into the Towne tooke divers of them in the Towne, and there killed Lieutenant-colonell *Congre* Governour of Newnham; and the Horse onely with their Carbines, Swords, and Pistols, suddenly surprised the Garrison it selfe (although fortified) where were neere forty prisoners taken: and that night Colonel *Masse* quartered at Wesbury and Deane, and the next day drew up to Newnham, where presently he beat the enemy out of the Towne into their Workes, which were double fortified and very strong, having a very small compasse to make good, and there being but one place possible to fall on the enemy, who having there foure small pieces of Ordnance and good store of Provision and Ammunition. Yet it pleased God to give the souldiers such courage and resolution that they fiercely stormed the Workes, and made the enemy to forsake them, and to runne into the Church, where the Governours forces rushed in upon them pell-mell, with much violence, which enforced them to cry out for quarter; which one *Tipper* an old servant to Sir *J. Winter* and an arch Papist perceiving, and being not willing to take quarter, gave fire to a barrell of Powder intending to destroy himselfe and all the rest, which occasioned the putting of more to the sword then otherwise had been, the Governour being much enraged to see any of his men scorched with Powder. In this Garrison.

Garrison was taken good store of provisions of all sorts, 4 Guns, one great Wall-piece of 8 foot long, good store of Granadoes, and some Fireworks, 8 barrels of Powder, 60 skeines of fine Match, with good store of great shot for the Guns, about 150 prisoners, whereof 3 were Captaines, and one Capt. Butler was slaine with the butt-end of a Musket, and so was old *Tipper* (that traitor to the rules of War) with about 20 others; there were taken about twenty others; there were taken also about 40 horses. The prisoners were instantly conveyed to Gloucester with safety, and the Governour quartered that night at Newnam and little Deane. But the wonderfull and extraordinary providence of God was in this, that in the taking of three fortified garrisons in two daies, and all by storme, the Governour lost never a man, onely some few were scorched with the treachery of the Papists powder-plot, and one had his arme shot off with Cannon-bullet, but none of the wounds mortall.

After the taking of the said three severall Garrisons, the Governour of Gloucester marched with his said forces to Lidney, where *Sir John Winters* fortifications and provisions being found too strong for such forces as the Governour had with him, the Governour drew off his wearied men, and caused three Iron-mills of *Sir John Winters*, with his provision of Coales to be destroyed and burned, the same being very beneficiall to the said *Sir John Winter*, and most usefull to him and the popish party for provisions of warlike engines against the Parliaments Army and the Kingdome. While those Noble actions of the Governour were performed in Gloucestershire, Col. *Mynn* with his Regiments of Horse and Foot forsooke Ross in Herefordshire, and entered some into Hereford, and some into Monmoth for their better security; where-
upon

upon the worthy Governour with his said Forces of Foot and Horse marched into Herefordshire, possessed himselfe of Rossle, tooke Wilton-bridge, being a draw-bridge on the River Wye, and tooke the house or castle neere unto it, with one and thiny prisoners and some horse; and then sent part of his horse, viz. Col. *Puresfoy* Regiment of horse towards Monmoth, to give an Alarm there; and the other part, viz. his owne Regiment of horse, towards Hereford, to performe the like; which caused the great Jesuiticall Papist and arch Traytor, the L. *Herbert*, together his forces of horse and foot into Monmoth to joyne with the forces there of Col. *Minns*, and sent all their horse from Monmoth towards Wilton-bridge; but they were encountered by the way by the horse sent by the Governour towards Monmoth, who charged them bravely, slew 5 or 6 of them, and the rest being neere the Towne of Monmoth sheltred themselves there. In the meane time the Governour being now quietly possessed of all that part of Herefordshire, summons the County to come in, and to take the Covenant, and to pay contribution unto him; where he found willing obedience by the greatest part of the Yeomanry of that County, and was resolved to have besieged Hereford, which would have yeilded unto him in very short time, as is since informed, had not other important occasions called him from thence, to performe a greater service in Gods cause. While the Governour was thus employed in Herefordshire he received advertisement that 7 of his souldiers had taken Col. *Oglethorpe* the Governour of Beverston-castle, and six others of his Troopers, and brought them to Gloucester; and that a Captaine of his was going away into other service of the Parliament: whereupon he comming to Gloucester May 24. in the evening; dispatched the businesse he came about

bout; and finding then by examination of some of the said prisoners, that there were some distractions hapned upon taking the Governour of Beverston-castle, touching the government thereof, and the rather because the King had granted the same unto Sir Baynham Tockmorton whilst the said Oglethorpe was Governour; the said Noble Governour of Gloucester resolved to take the opportunity to performe some worthy exploits; and having then about 10 a clock at night the said 21 of May received Letters from the Committee of the house of Commons nominated for the affaires of the garrison of Gloucester, he wrote severall Letters unto them from Gloucester, which tooke up his time untill two a clocke in the morning, and then posted backe into Herefordshire 12 miles from Gloucester the same day Wednesday May 22, and there drew his said forces of horse and foot into one body at Rosse, and then presently caused his horse to march by Gloucester, appointing them to be the next day at the Rendezvous within 3 miles of Beverston-castle 15 miles from Gloucester Southward; and also the same day caused his foot to march somewhat a neerer way towards Beverston-castle, over the River Severne unto Frampton, being at least 16 miles, and were constrained to march all Wednesday night to meet the horse at the Rendezvous appointed; as aforesaid; and from thence marched to Beverston-castle on the Thursday, where they first surprized about 60 horse depasturing under the Castle walls, and guarded with about 6 Musketers, who flying gave the Alarm to the Castle, which the Noble Governour suddenly surrounded with his horse, and the same night drew up his foot and Artillery, and then sending to summon the Castle, and writing also to the Lieutenant-colonell and other Officers there some plausible Letters, and offering faire quarter

quarter and true performance, the Castle was surrendred unto him about 12 a clock the same night by accord, onely to give them quarter, liberty and their wearing apparel. In which Castle they had 50 Muskets, 4 barrells of Powder, and other provisions; the command whereof was presently delivered unto Captaine *Read* a faithfull man in the service of the Parliament. The noble Governour having thus settled a garrison for the Parliament in *Beverston*-castle, continued his march the next morning toward *Malmsbury* in *Wiltshire*, and the same day sent this ensuing summons written with his own hand unto the Governour of *Malmsbury*, viz.

To the Governour or Commander in chiefe of
the Garrison of *Malmsbury*.

YOU are hereby summoned, that you within one halfe houre after the comming of this to your hands, surrender the same, with all the Armes, Ammunition, provision, and other things of service and use whatsoever unto Col. *Masse* Governor of *Gloucester*, for the use, and on the behalfe of the King and his Parliament now sitting at *Westminster*. And he doth hereby engage himselfe by all the ties of honour, that you, your officers, and souldiers shall not onely enjoy your lives, and be received under the protection of good usage and quarter, but also all such as shall desire imployment with us, under my command shall finde entertainment according to their qualitties, or depart whither they please. And if you shall refuse this proffer of mercy, then you are to expect no other but what Fire and Sword shall bring upon you.

Edw. Massie.

Dated 24 of May, 1644.

The

The Governour of Malmesbury within the time limited in the said Summons sent this ensuing Answer.

S^R R,

I Have received your Summons; and (without any unfavoury language) do returne you this Answer: That we will maintaine this towne for the King and Parliament now sitting at Oxford, in defence of those Rites that pretended Parliament at Westminster have abused and robbed our Nation. For the other particular that upon deniall we must expect the extremity of Fire and Sword, we make this Answer: That those extremities, I believe are as likely to fall upon those that assault this towne, as those that defend it. For that point, of serving you, the truth is, we are all too proud.

Your Servant

Henry Howard.

This Henry Howard, a Colonell of Foot, and one of the Earle of Berkshire's Sonnes, Being Governour there, prepared his Souldiers for defence, as well as for defiance, and filled his Works with his numerous Souldiers, bragging much of their valour and resolution; which caused that worthy Commander Colonell Masie, to double his care and diligence to storme it, with all vigour, courage, and expedition; but it was late in the evening before he could draw up his Horse, Foot, and Artillery before the said

Towne: and these two difficulties happened unto him the same time: the one was his souldiers want of sleep, having continued their constant watch, and continuall duty, for severall dayes and nights together, without intermission: the other was, the great store of raine that fell the same evening, and continued all the night ensuing, whereby Colonell *Purefoy's* Regiment of Horse were constrained to forsake the field, and seeke out some shelter for themselves and their horses: But the unwearied Governour, with his Foot, and some three or foure Troupes of Horse of his owne Regiment, gave the Alarum to the Enemy all that night, playing hard with his Ordnance and Muskietiers, during which time he himselfe tooke great paines in making Blives, and in taking such houses as might best preserve his men, and resolved to storme it early the next morning, and accordingly about Sun-rising May 25. he drew out a strong party of Muskietiers against the Turne-Pike and chaine, who very gallantly assaulted the Enemy, and beat them from their Ordnance and Guards: some other of the Muskietiers assaulting the Enemy in their Works (at one and the same time) with scaling-ladders, beat the Enemy from their Works, and with great courage and resolution entred the same, wounded some, and the rest fled further into the Towne: in all which it was hard to judge, whether that worthy Commander, by his personall action, or discret direction, were of greater avails in taking the Towne: but sure it is, the same added much courage to the Captaines both of Horse and Foot, insomuch that Major *Gray* and Captaine *Ayleworth* with joynt courage, and brave horses well mann'd, swiftly entred the town, by leaping their Horses over the chaine, and over the Turne-Pike, and encountred the first Enemy, by cutting off his arme with a sword, and shot the next in the head with

with a Pistoll, and Captain *Blunt*, one of the Captaines of Foot, upon the discharge of the Enemies Ordnance forced his entrance into the Towne through the Enemies Worke where the Enemy plyed the Ordnance, which he overturned upon his entrance, and made way for his Souldiers to follow: and Captaine *White* entred the Towne in another place over the Works, first mastering the same with his Muskietiers: but the first man that by force entred the Enemies Works, was a Serjeant with 40. resolute Muskietiers, to whom the Governour had promised five pounds, with other rewards to the 40. Muskietiers, if they would give the first assault, and performe it with courage, which they did accordingly, and the Governour paid them liberally. It was a brave spectacle to see, how unanimous both Commanders and Souldiers undertooke the enterprize, and with what undaunted spirits and carriage all of them in one minute of time performed the same, notwithstanding their hard marches, want of sleepe, and the unseasonable raine all that night. But let all glory and praise be given to the Lord of Hosts, by whom the worke was done in so little time, and without so much as a man hurt of the Governours Souldiers in the storming of it: nor did they lose a man during their time of being there, except the Governours boy, and one common Souldier: our Forces lay but twelve or thirteene houres before the same, ere they tooke it by assault: the Governour of Malmesbury, and such other Prisoners as were taken, are contained in the ensuing List.

A List of the Officers and Soldiers taken at Malmesbury,
May 25. 1644. at 2 of the Clock in the morning,
where the Enemy lay, and the Ordnance was taken.
 Henry Howard, Col. of Foot, 2000. Corporalls.
 William Howard, Liev. Col. Henry Painter, 1000.
 Sons to the Earl of Beekshire. Thomas Hadley, 1000.
 William Chester, Major. John Pooler, 1000.
 William Markham, Capt. John Peetee, 1000.
 Gilbert Wheathill, Capt. John Chappell, 1000.
 John Brimfield, Capt. Liev. Gilbert Harris, Drummer.
 Richard Bleak, Liev. William Weeks, Chyrurgeon.
 Edward Scott, John Clark, Capt. of Horse.
 William Roach, Private Soldiers, 149.
 John Batrat, Ensigns. John Freame.
 Robert Bares, William Norris.
 Richard Gage, John Bridgts.
 Browning.
 The rest of the Officers and
 Quartermasters, and Soldiers by running the
 James Bowyer, row the River made their
 Moreley.
 Laurence Short.

Serjeants.

Henry Dixon.
 Richard Fletcher.
 Robert Baily.
 William Fenton.

2. Iron Faulcons.
 2. Iron Hamberguns.
 9. Barrells of Powder.
 152. Skaines of Match.
 900. Weight of Shot.
 150. Muskets, or thereabouts.

As

As soone as the right worthy Colonnell Massey had possessed himselfe of Malmesbury, and the Prisoners, he preserved all the towne from plunder of the Soldiers, and then sent a strong party to Chipham, who took in that Garrison also, and about 80. Musketiers Prisoners, he took also seven Waines or Waggons laden with Sack and other Wines, going from Bristol to Oxford: but it is affirmed by others, that much of that lading is Armes and Ammunition: He hath since taken other townes, and brought the greatest part of Wiltshire under the obedience of the Parliament, and hath taken many other Commanders and Malignants adhering to the Cavaliers, and the IRISH Rebels, viz. M. George Com, of the Oxford Parliament, and another, second sonne of Sir Edward Burthons, and one M. Chipers, with others: And by taking of Malmesbury and Beverston Castle, all trade and commerce out of the West to Oxford is much hindered, and from Bristol to Oxford quite taken away, and the trade of clothing opened from those parts to London, and, as the report is, there are upon the way now coming up out of Wiltshire towards London thirteen Wains laden with woollen cloth, which will be welcome to the Merchants and Drapers here, and other wares and commodities will be sent and returned from London into the Countrey. This is the Lords doing, and to him be given all the praise and glory. This also may stirre up the hearts of such as are able to lend up on the Gloucester Ordinance, for the raising of some horse to serve under the command of that valiant Commander, who will be left destitute of horse, when the Regiment of Colonnell Purfey Horse shall be called away from him, who is earnestly desired by the Committee of Coventrey, that he may returne againe into Warwickshire, for the defence of that Countrey, being raised by them for that purpose.

pose. To all which I will onely adde, and conclude with the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons, made upon reading the said Governours Letters of the taking of Malmesbury and Beverston, before-mentioned.

Die Veneris, 31. Maii. 1644.

A Letter from Colonell *Massey* from Malmesbury of the 25. of May concerning the taking of the Towne of Malmesbury, and a copie of the Summons sent to the Towne, and the Answer of the Garrison, were all read: and likewise a Letter of the 27. of May from Malmesbury, relating the same particulars more at large, was likewise read; desiring that his Regiment might be recruited before any other addition of force: and likewise desiring to know how that Town of Malmesbury shall be disposed of.

Ordered, That the Towne of Malmesbury, and the Castle of Beverston, as to the Government of them, shalbe left wholly to the disposall of Colonell Massey.

Ordered, That before there be any addition made of new Regiments for the assistance of Colonell Massey, Colonell Masseys owne Regiment of Foot be first recruited, and that his Regiment of Horses may be compleated for Men, Horse, and Arms,
by

by such supplies of Moneyes as by the Ordinance may be procured for Gloucester.

Ordered, That after Colonell Masseyes Regiments of Horse and Foot shall be recruited and completed, That a Regiment of Horse shall be raised for Colonell Stephens, High Sheriffe of the County of Gloucester, to be under the command of Colonell Massey: and that my Lord Generall be desired to grant no Commission to any other for raising any other Regiments for the County of Gloucester, and the other Counties mentioned in the Ordinance, but to such as shall be recommended by Colonell Massey unto the Committee of Gloucester, and by them to this House.

Ordered, That Roger Burgoyne do by this day sevensnight at farthest pay in the 400.l. owing upon Bond to Capt. Matthews deceased, and assigned by former Order upon Colonell Massey.

Ordered,

Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee for Gloucester, to prepare an Ordinance, and bring it in on Tuesday morning next, for settling upon Colonell Massey an Estate of Inheritance to the value of 1000 pound per Annum, at least, out of some Papists and Delinquents Estates.

Char. Staveland Cler. Dom. :
Pury. 1644. June 4.

Resolved, That the Committee for Gloucester, and the other Counties mentioned in the Ordinance, be recommended by Colonell Massey into the Committee of Gloucester, and by them to this House.

Ordered, That Roger Burgoine do by this day (evening) at fiftish pay in the 400 l. owing upon Bond to Capt. Matthews deceased, and assigned by former Order upon Colonell Massey.

Ordered,

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Lincoln bridge gained it.

Colwell Hastings wounded it.

Marquess of Hardy taken it.

Dudley castle besieged it.

Numb. 54



Mercurius Civicus
LONDON
INTELLIGENCER

OR,
Truth Impartially related from
thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent mis-information.

From Thursday May 30. to Thursday June 4. 1644.



The Intelligence from his Excellency Hill requires the
first place, which as it is related in severall Letters
of the 22 of May, the 2 and 3 of June, is to this
effect: That Wednesday last upon his Excellen-
cies advance with his Army unto Ilip the King
forced quitted that Towne, and drew backe their
Ordnance and Carriages to Oxford, although at first they made
some

H h

some vapours, as if they would have fought with his Excellency, having for that purpose retired to a place of advantage, their whole body being about 8000. the places in which they then quartered were Woodstocke, Kidlington, Hamborow, Bladen, Wolvercot, and Bigbrooke, most of them within 3 or 4 miles of Oxford. Thursday and Friday there were some skirmishes, but there was a little brooke betweene which hindered our men from coming at them. Friday night a party were sent forth of his Excellencies owne Forces, and of the London Auxiliaries to obtaine the passage over Ainslow bridge neere the mill between Iffip and Woodstocke; between whom and the enemy there was that night some single bickings; but about 4 of the clocke the next morning they began to skirmish very fiercely, and so continued for the space of 7 houres, till most of our mens Powder and bullets were spent, and then they were relieved by a party of Major *Stewart*, who disputed the passage along time with the enemy, but the enemy being on the other side the river did stand to it with much resolution, and having advantage of the ground euer off the bridge, and kept the passage all that day; and notwithstanding severall attempts were made against it, it was not taken till the Lords day in the afternoon. In the severall skirmishes (as it was certified in a letter from a Commander, in the Army, dated *June 3.*) there were about 40 of his Excellencies forces slaine in the place, whereof Capt. *Deane*, one of the Captaines of the Auxiliaries was one, Col. *Cunningham* had his arme shot off with a bullet of 24 pound weight, Lieutenant-col. *Floyd* and Sergeant-major *Waters* and divers others were hurt and wounded. The number slaine on the enemies side is uncertain, there were 8 Cart-loads of dead and wounded men carried into Oxford, and we heare that the Lord *Paulet*, and some say also the L. *Wilmot*, are slaine. The King still continues at Oxford, and upon the advance of his Excellencie towards Bulling-ton-green gave command that 300 of the most inferiour sort of women should be sent to Woodstocke, where they yet remaine.

There is a report in the Army that Sir *Charles Blount*, a great Papist, who not above a fortnight since began the estate of a Parliament-man, was last weeke stab'd in Oxford, being now repaid with the same manner of death which he had some 3 or 4 years since executed upon 2 or 3 other men whom he basely murdered.

yet escaped unpunished: Justice moves *certis*, with a sure, though not
cite pides, with a wise pact.

On the Lords day June 2. two white Flags came with the States
 Ambassadors from Oxford to his Excellency, desiring to know
 whether he had any commission to treat concerning some waies of
 accommodation; unto which his Excellency returned answer, that
 he could not doe any thing without the consent of both Houses of
 Parliament, and that the Commission he had was to bring His Ma-
 jesty from those evill Counsellors that had seduced him from his
 Parliament.

The Cavaliers have since his Excellencies forces their first onset
 against Ainslow bridge, burnt the Mill adjacent to it, and other Mills
 thereabouts, and in one of them they burnt the Miller to ashes, not-
 withstanding his great and earnest request unto them for his life; so
 full of cruelty and inhumanity doe they daily shew themselves,
 without any just occasion or cause offered unto them.

Tuesday June 4. Letters came to the Parliament from his Exce-
 lency, desiring that a supply of Powder might be sent unto him,
 which accordingly was ordered to be sent downe.

Munday June 3. we received sad news from Bolton in Lancashire,
 that Prince *Rupert* and the Earle of Derbies forces having made three
 severall assaults against that Towne, were bravely repulsed with the
 losse of neere 1000. men, whereat the enemy was so enraged that the
 fourth time they stormed it, and upon their entrance fell violently
 upon the Souldiers in the Towne being neere 1000. and put them to
 the sword after a most cruell and unheard of manner. There were
 some reverend and learned Ministers there to whom they would
 not grant any quarter, unless they would make a publike acknow-
 ledgement and recantation of their former Doctrines, which they
 absolutely refused, and like so many zealous Martyrs chose rather
 to die gloriously for the truth, then to make Shipwracks of their
 Consciences, whereupon they were cruelly hack't to pieces by the
 furious and inhumane enemy, the names of the Ministers who thus
 suffered were, Master *Haycock* (who was neere an hundred yeeres
 old, and was a famous Preacher in Queene *Elizabeths* time) Master
Tillisy, Master *Harper*, and Master *Fogge*. It is also thought that
 that worthy and true hearted Patriot Colonell *Right* a Member of
 the

the House of Commons did also suffer among the rest. There was a servant of the Earle of Derbies (that first incendiary of that County) who being a Captaine in the Towne; upon the entrance of his Lord, discovered himselfe to him, declaring that he had formerly served his Lordship, and was now at his Lordships mercy, and therefore desired his favour; which he refusing, immediately drew forth his Sword and runne him thorough. They have since their entrance into this Towne committed many barbarous inhumanities, both in that and the Townes adjacent. Poore Lancashire, that hath been so long free from the cruelty of the adversary, by thy being at first conscious of those miseries thou shouldest indure, if they got entrance, and therefore timously provided against those Romish vipers that were once nourished in thy bosome, what honest heart will not now condole thy sad condition? surely we may feare night is coming upon thee, when thy best and most faithfull labourers are forced to leave off their worke, and when those bloody and cruell beasts goe forth to their prey. Have we not now cause to suspect thy sufferings will be as great as any, unless timely prevented by thine owne wated courage, and assistance of thy neighbouring associates? Oh let not that plundering Prince of those devouring locusts make thee as the other parts of the Kingdome which they have entered as Conquerours, which though they found like the garden of Eden, yet they have left like a barren and inhabitable wilderness.

On Munday morning last June 3. there were 300. foot sent out of Windsor Castle under the command of Lieutenant Colonell Bradley, who are designed to lie before Greenland-house, they carried forth with them two case of Drakes and foure case of Sifters. There are also some forces to be drawne from Ainsbury, and other Garrisons for that service: Also the Regiments of Sir Richard Onslow, Colonell *Evans*, Colonell *Morley*, and Colonell *Norton* are to be employed upon the like service against Basing-house: were but these two Garrisons of the enemy cleared, there would be none to interrupt the trade of the Clothiers, not onely out of Wilshire and Gloucestershire, but also out of Somersetshire to London, which by the occasion of the taking of Malmesbury, Beverston-Castle, and other Garrisons of enemies in those parts, is not onely a great terror to the enemy, but has left open the passage so, that on Tuesday June 4. there

there were 14. Waine-loads of Cloth came to London out of Wiltshire, Somersetshire and Gloucestershire. Carriers came with packs of Cloth and other commodities.

We are now in some hopes also that Prince Rupert will be met withall before his returne out of Lancashire; for it is advertised by some Letters thence, that Sir John Meldrum with a Regiment of Redbankes, and Colonell Ashton with his Regiment, are marched to Manchester, and that the Earle of Manchester and Sir Thomas Fairfax, and some of the Scots horse are upon their march from Selby and Ferribridge in Yorkshire, where they were lately quartered, intending to joyne with the valiant Manchesterians and other forces against that plundering Army.

By Letters from Shropshire it is advertised that Colonell Ashton hath taken eight Wagons laden with treasure and goods to a great value, which belonged unto Colonell Hunkers a great favourer of the Irish Rebels; which he had plundered and pillaged in his late imployment in Ireland.

By Letters from Sir John Gill in Derbyshire brought to Towne on munday last, it is advertised that he hath lately entered Alby-de-la-zouch, and taken there 92 of Colonell Hastings his horse, &c. Oxen; the Colonell being then in the house issued out upon him, but was repulsed, divers of his forces slaine, and himselfe runne thorow the arme.

The siege of Lyme is yet continued by the enemy, notwithstanding their late repulse with the losse of 300. men, but they are thereby much weakned, and would be willing (might they doe it with any credit) to raise the siege and march away; But to ease them of that their care, Sir Arthur Haslemore is gone from his Excellencies Army with 1500. Dragoons towards Dorsetshire towards the raising of that siege, the towne being something straitned, in regard they cannot receive the reliefe by sea as was expected.

I should in the next place have given you a particular account of the service performed by Col. Norriss horse, and Col. Jones foot, on the Lords day last, June 1. against Col. Royden a broken Citizen, Governour of Basing house, his Forces; But in regard it is already published, I shall onely give you the names of those that were taken, viz.

Major

Major Langley, sometime a Mercer in *Parliament*, now was taken prisoner, wounded, but being in poor habit, more like a Tinker than a Gentleman, was let goe againe. *Libertines* told us that *Rowley* Captaine Rowley, a Scrivener next doore to the signe of the George at *Helborn*, conducing us taken, and Lieutenant Rowley his brother, were superstitious cringing malignant. *Rowley* Lieutenant Ivory, sometime a Citizen of *London*, was taken. *Rowley* Ensigne Lucas, a Silk-dyers son in the *Old Bailey*. *Rowley* Ensigne Coram, son of one Coram a papist in *Winchester*. *Rowley* William Robinson, a papist, Surgeon to the Lord Marquis of *Winchester*.

3. Sergeants.

3. Drums, and 3. Drummers.

3. Gentlemen of the Armes.

1. Sutler to the Army.

75. common Souldiers, whereof some of them are such as formerly ran from the Parliaments service, and are like to receive their just reward. 100. Foot-armes, besides Horse and armes; every man keeping what horse he took himselfe.

4. Found dead upon the place, many wounded, some very dangerously.

We lost on our side onely one man, and about 7 or 8 shot, one of them that was hurt being a Lieutenant.

The Enemies word was Honour. Ours, God for us.

Both houses of Parliament on Monday last passed an Ordinance to this effect: Whereas there is a summe of eight thousand pounds due in arrears to the garrison of *Portsmouth*, and the Forts and Castles adjacent; that is to say, *Hartst*, *Calshot*, and *South sea Castles*. And whereas there are divers summs of maney due in arrears unto divers Officers of the Army in the Parliaments service, which have undertaken to make a discovery of divers summes of Money, Goods, and personall estates of divers Malignants, Delinquents, and Papists, which by Ordinances of Parliament ought to be sequestred to the use of the Parliaments, and are concealed. It is therefore ordained by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That the personall estate of such Delinquents and Papists within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and within ten miles of the same, not yet sequestred and discovered, and which

shall be discovered by the said Officers, unto Sir Thomas Jervois Knight, Robert Wallop, Richard Whitehead, and William Jephson, Esqu. or any two of them, within the space of one month next after the publishing in print of this Ordinance, shall be allowed for the arrears of the said Garrison and Officers before mentioned. Provided that the said contracted officers Exceed not the summe of twenty thousand pound.

The same day Cap^t. Swanley came to the house to give an account of his late service in Wales. He relates that there have not been any Irish come over since his drowning those which he took in the last arrival. Besides the Earle of Warwicks ships doe still lie in the River of Swannell to prevent them from coming over; so that he hath but some small assistance from hence, he would be soon able to subdue the whole Dominion of Wales unto the command of the Parliament.

Out of Scotland, Tuesday June 4, it was advertised that Marquess Huntley, that grand thicklee for his Majesties party in that Kingdome is now taken prisoner, with the rest of his comrades; and he with about 13 other of their chiefe malignant Lords and Gentlemen are carried into Edenborough castle, so that there is no likelihood of any further commotion to be raised by him or any other parties in that Kingdome. And for the Earles of Montrose and Craford, who have done so much mischief since their coming into England, in taking the South-shieles and burning foue Coale-liters neere Sunderland, by reason of the cowardize or treachery of some Officers. We heare that the Earle of Calender is now advanced from Scotland into Northumberland, and that Sir Charles Fairfax (second sonne to the Lord Fairfax) is sent with a party of horse from before Yorke to stay their further progresse.

The Cavaliers have lately for the most part deserted the City of Worcester, by reason it is now visited with the Plagne, and most of them are gone to Tewksbury, toward which place Colonell Massie advanced out of Gloucester on Saturday last with neere 400. horse and 1500. foot; the whole County of Gloucester doe now generally come in to him. We are also further certified, that after his taking of Malmesbury he gave them two severall Alarmes at Bristol, which did much frighten them, although their malignant Preachers, especially Toogood and Standfast, and other their principall Conductors,

duftors, would perswade them his Excellency, the Parliamtall Lord Generall, had very few men in his Army, and that Sir *William Waller* was so put to it, that he was constrained to take most of the men that were able to beare Armes out of London, so that the shops were for the most part shut up, and trading laid aside, which how true either of them is, let the generall muster on Thursday last May 30. and dayly experience testifie.

The ever renowned Serjeant-Major *Brown* is now appointed to goe Commander of the forces that are designed to besiege Green-land house.

From Gloucester it is further certified; That there are a Troop of about 33. horse of the Princes Regiment come in, and yielded themselves unto Colonell *Masse* the Governour thereof.

On Wednesday June 5. by divers that came from the Lord Generals Army we received a more particular relation of the taking of Ainslow bridge on the Lords day last, and that his Excellency intended speedily to possesse himselfe of Woodstock, and so to goe on to Oxford. They further related, That most of Sir *Ralph Hoptons* forces, upon the taking the foresaid bridge dispersed themselves and fled to Oxford, Worcester, and other Garrisons.

Also that Sir *William Waller* was advanced over Newbridge, and was drawing towards the enemies forces, which were quartered at Ensam and divers other places on the South side of Oxford.

By an Expreffe the same day out of Staffordshire, it was certified, That the Earle of Denbigh with neere 6000 horse and foot had besieged Dudley Castle, a strong Garrison of the enemies in the County.

For the report concerning the overthrow of the Irish Rebels, and the killing of neere 14000. of them by the Protestants, we cannot yet receive any certainty thereof by Letters.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed by T. B. and J. P. J. and are to be sold at the old English shop in the Strand.

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The Spie,

Communicating Intelligence

from Oxford.

KPP London

From *Thursday* the 30. of *May*, to *Thursday* the 6. of *June*.


A *Ulicus*, both the Author and the Pamphlet are departed the World together; and for ought I know, neither of them are likely ever to rise againe. So that a great deale of labour is saved from answering him according to his folly. And what will the Malignants doe now they have lost their deare *Aulicus*, more deare to them than either *Credo*, *Pater-nosters*, *Litanies*, *Surplices*, and all those precious reliques of Popery in the Booke of *Common Prayer*, *Ely-house*, *Lambeth-house*, and *Peter-house* will be well nigh starved for want of Intelligence, wanted Intelligence fit for their humours: for whose sakes, and other their good friends, I am perswaded we shall ere long have another villaine in Print under the name of *Aulicus*, who will endeavour perhaps as mischievously against the State as the former. If they could but be rid once of my Lord *Generall*, and Sir *William Waller*, perhaps that (I am loth because my Mother, to say infamous) University of *Oxford* will finde out other striplings sufficiently qualified for such a service. But in the meane time they are not at leasure to lay out Inke; and it is ill calling *Rebells* within the reach of our Canon, when they are so neere to give a confutation, and to raise an Earth-quake in their fortresses and consciences: which if they chance to out-live, or can make shift

to escape, ~~then~~ I expect another *De-coy* from *Oxford*, till when you must be contented with plaine Intelligence.

First of all, I shall take occasion to write of those places which *Anlicus* was wont more especially to belye. The Earle of *Derby* his House called *Latham-house* in *Lancashire*, which hath so often been the Subject of *Anlicus* his discourse, is at length releev'd by Prince *Rupert*, who hath rais'd the long-continued Siege there, and at length saved the Countesse from undoing her selfe with sallies, which in time must have proved the onely consumption of that Garrison: But because *Rupert* will not be at leasure to stay long there; he must needs leave them to a second Siege, which will (I question not) ere long be accomplished: And then I doubt not but it may in time undergoe the fate of *Walton-house* in *Hampshire*, and be sacrificed in flames to the future safety of that County, which hath been much infected and endamaged by that harbour of *Atheists*.

But to ballance our *Labour in vaine* at this siege of *Latham-house*, the enemy before *Lyme* is not many weekes behind in continuing a Siege there to little purpose, nay almost to their owne undoing: For as it appeares by Letters intercepted, which were sent from before *Lyme*, to their friends in *Oxford* (who are knowne enemies to the Kingdome) being in particular directed to *Gundemare Brissoll*, and *Heath* that Purple-Incendiary, whose law is of so hot a constitution, that it sets fire on the Kingdome; Those Letters informe them in these words, (as the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* hath it) that that villanous Towne of *Lyme* hath destroyed more brave Gentlemen of the West, and men of Honour, than have been lost in the West since these warres began. Nay, it must needs be that their losse (which is our gaine) hath been great there, and greater than ordinary: For I have obseryed, that for many weekes past, *Anlicus* was utterly silent concerning *Lyme*, not so much as vouchsafing the least mention of it to his friends abroad: And I can assure you, that is bad successe indeed when *Anlicus* his Inke will not run Characters of boasting, and his conscience terrified from lying in the behalfe of his Party, for whose sake he was wont to be very expert that way.

And yet, since the intercepting of those Letters they have been as
more

more losse: For the Letters mentioning the manner and time of a designe which they had against the Towne, gave the Garrison faire warning and leave to counter-plot, and provide an advantage for themselves; which was done thus: Upon their entry of the Breach the Garrison souldiers lighted the Workes, and seemed to fly back, whereupon three or four hundred of the enemy entred very speedily, who being taken thus at advantage, were either cut off every man, or taken prisoners, with their Armes and Ammunition.

Now Prince *Maurice* hath not lost so much (the Malignants say) in the South; but Prince *Rupere* hath made requitall in the North, by the taking of *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, where the blood of slaughtered Innocents cries as loud to Heaven for vengeance, against that mercilesse Prince, as in many other parts of this unhappy Kingdome: Some say he murdered Infants there: And to shew his hatred to religion as equall to his want of humanity, he put many zealous and well-affected persons to the sword, and denyed quarter to four Ministers: Now God preserve those who are in *Lyne*; for so much are they engaged against that valiant and succesful garrison, that they have vowed to give none of their Ministers quarter, imputing the cause of their so long holding out to their earnest and zealous exhortations.

The Earle of *Montrose* endeavours earnestly the spoiling of our hopes for *Coates*, having taken the *South Shields* already, or rather indeed they being either dishonourably, or treacherously delivered up unto him: But to rouse up our hopes in expectation of a recovery, the valiant Colonell *Fairfax*, second Sonne to the most honoured gallant Lord *Fairfax*, is marched towards the Bishopricke of *Durham*, to joyne with Col. *Willis* Regiment, who are to joyne with the horse at *Sunderland*, to encounter the Battle of *Montrose*.

It were well if those Partees in *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland*, were canvassed a little: For it is certaine enough that the Earle of *Catharine* is in *Northumberland* with some thousands, though I cannot beleve the report of seven thousand to be true, and *Cumberland* & *Westmerland* wait only an opportunity to do mischief.

Mention was made lately of Colonell *Glover*, a gallant Gentle-

man, who is a Colonell of *Reformado's* under my Lord Generall, who went lately towards *Oxford*, and we have since received no Intelligence of his arrivall to my Lords Quarters, nor where else he is: It is feared that the Garrison of *Greenland house*, who daily send out Partees, have taken him by the way: This Garrison his Excellency had an especiall eye upon; and at his departure did desire that some course might be taken speedily for the reducing thereof, it being very prejudiciall to the Country thereabouts: And lately they have issued out Warrants, commanding them to bring in thither a great quantity of all sorts of Provision, threatening to plunder them of all they had, unless they fulfilled their commands. Whereupon the Parliament gave present order for the sending of two Troopes of Horse, to attend their issuing forth; These Troopes will be sufficient to quell the malice of as many as they can spare out of the Garrison upon a designe of plundering.

From the Leaguer before *Yorke* we have no Intelligence since the last of *May*: And then it was thought that it might hold out about a fortnight longer: since which, halfe the mentioned time is past and gone; so that we may expect to heare good newes of it very suddenly, notwithstanding the menaces of *Cumberland*, and *Westminsterland*, who are still kept in awe by the *Scots* upon the Borders. We heare that Prince *Rupert* intends to contribute his power towards the raising of the siege at *Yorke*, and that for that purpose he hath since the taking of *Boston*, made some addition of horse and foot unto his forces, forcing men unto the service, and inveigling others. But the young *German* gentleman had not best be too hasty, having some handsome rubs in his way between *Lancashire* and *Yorke*: For those who expected him before his cruell Massacring in *Lancashire*, the noble Earle of *Manchester*, and valiant sir *Thomas Fairfax*, are still his attendants. Besides, sir *John Meldrum* with a regiment of *Redbankes*, and Colonell *Ashton* with his regiment are both marched into *Manchester*, on purpose: (if it be possible) to inclose that bloody Prince, who may in time receive the due guerdon of his inhumanity.

From *Windfor* it is certified that Major *Buckstone* was gone from thence, with five hundred men and eight peeces of Ordnance, and hath

hath besieged *Greenland-house*, and doubts not but to be Master of it in a very short time.

A Gentleman of Colonell *Nortons* Regiment came on Tuesday to *London*, and saith that three Troopes of their Horse came to *Odiham* on Sunday morning, to the assistance of Colonell *Jones*; That the Prisoners taken there are bringing up to *London*, and some of them being examined, have confessed that they had directions to give no Quarter, and that they should burne the Towne; and for their better encouragement thereto, the Marquess of *Winchester* came part of the way with them, and at his returne backe gave the common souldiers five shillings a piece.

The gallant Colonell *Maffey* hath done admirable service abroad, for which the Parliament hath rewarded him out of Sir *John Winters* estate, a grand Papist of *Gloucestershire*, now in Armes against the Parliament. Since his exploits in the Malignant, ignorant County of *Hereford*, he and Colonell *Puresoy's* Regiment have erected Trophies of honour to their names in *Wiltshire*, by taking *Beverston Castle*, and after thirteene houres fight the Towne of *Malmesbury*, with seven or eight peeces of Ordnance, an hundred and fifty common Souldiers, the rest escaping through the river; he hath visited also the *Devizes*, and seized on divers notorious Malignants and Array-men, viz. the old Major of the Towne, Master *Bugby*, two of the *Buchers*, and many others, and is returned backe to *Malmesbury*.

The gallant Captaine *Swanley*, a man deservedly honourable for his faithfull service to the State, came to the House on Tuesday last, and fully laid open the state and condition of that Country, declaring, that if some supply were added to those forces which he landed there, that Country would speedily be brought into obedience to the King and Parliament.

The News from *Plymouth* is, that Colonell *Mars* sallied forth, and landed five hundred men on the enemies Quarters, and took the Towne of *Millbrook*, and nine great peeces of Ordnance,

an hundred Bullockes, and two hundred sheepe, and many Prisoners, and in their returne assaulted *Mount-Edgcombe*, burnt all their out-houses, but could doe no good on the fortified place; They tooke likewise forty horse, and threescore Prisoners, and two peeces of Ordnance at the Fort, which the enemy had built to hinder our shipping from comming into the Bay. It were well if that remote Garrison of *Plymouth* were put in as forward a posture as might be, that they might be enabled not onely to sally, but to have some command further into the Country; for they have active enemies there which plot their ruine: *Skellum Greenville*, and *sir John Berkley* are still very forward in pressing men; who indeed had neede to be pressed; for never were any more unwilling to the taske, which those harsh masters impose upon them: And it is very true which the printed Intelligence concerning *Plymouth* related some weekes since; that the generality of the West Country are for the King and Parliament; onely they want force to countenance them, and to second them in their designe of cutting the Cavaliers throates: Now I suppose the meanes to effect this can be no other than the maintaining of that Garrison in a prosperous condition, that the Governour may, as Colonell *Massey*, be in a fit posture to march abroad, and cleare the adjoyning Countries of those bloud-thirsty plunderers.

Which the better to effect, Colonell *Martin* the Governour of *Plymouth*, having certified the House, that without a supply of Powder, their store would soone be exhausted; the Parliament on *Saturday* tooke the same into consideration, and agreed that a hundred Barrells should be borrowed of that Powder which was provided for the Navie, to be sent to *Plymouth*, and an Ordinance is to be drawne up for raising of moncy to pay that Garrison.

On Munday Letters were read in the House, certifying a confederacy between the Major of *New-castle*, and the Governour of the *Shields*, which was taken by the *Swiss*, whereby it was plotted and contrived, that they should perfidiously be betrayed againe into the hands of the enemy, which was accordingly done:

done: And *Sunderland* also was in danger, but the plot there was timely prevented. And the Sea-men for the good service done in defending *Sunderland*, are taken into consideration, and some reward given unto them for their faithfulness in assisting the *Scottish* forces there.

Newes from *Oxford* in the first place, is that concerning his Majesty, and the *Irish Rebels* Commissioners, to whom his Majesty affords farre more favourable expressions than to any which shew themselves in the behalfe of the *Protestant* partee in *Ireland*, being dismissed not onely with the Title of his Majesties good *Catholique* Subjects, for warrant whereof they have a generall pardon, and consent to an *Act of Oblivion*, for all the unexampled Murders and Massacrings, and Outrages committed upon our poore Brethren in *Ireland*: But also to the utter ruine of the *Protestant* Religion, and the Professours thereof in that Kingdome, without a speciall preventing hand of Providence from Heaven; they had liberty given them to call a Parliament of *Native Irish* there, for the settling of affaires both of Church and State, according to their owne hearts desire. Now let those, who have but the left eye of their understandings open, judge impartially, whether they are not enforced to conceive him both a favourer of that Rebellion, and a Papist in his heart, that would give consent to things so necessarily destructive to the Religion and Politie of that distressed Kingdome. See then what rare Counsellours are *Gundemare*, and *Diego*, and *Don George*, that can bring his Majesty unto such an agreement with the *Rebells* odious both to God and man, when the Agents for the poore Protestants cannot so much as procure an Answer from the King, to any one Article of their Propositions.

The late Letter intercepted from *Lyon* declares at large the condition of the *West*, by affirming it to be perfidious to his Majesty, which did manifestly appeare by the slight entertainment which they gave the Queene at *Excester*, for they could by no meanes relish her abode there, whom they knew to be the maine forwarder of all these miseries and pressures which are now upon us; and therefore omitted no opportunity to expresse

preſſe their diſcontent: So that it is reported, that they being deſired to furniſh the Queene with monies, returned answer that if her Maſteſty would leave them, ſhe ſhould have money ſufficient to bear her charges: Which the Queen apprehending, thought it not ſafe to continue amongst ſuch murmurers, but inſtantly provided for her journey to *Briſtoll*, where no queſtion but ſhe will be more cordially entertained by her Irith darlings.

It is certified, that upon the paſſing of their Propoſitions, the Irith Rebels have promiſed to aſſiſt the King with ten thouſand (ſome ſay more) Men and Arms. I could almoſt wiſh that they would all come over, that we might pay them their Wages here: For it will ſave us hereafter the labour of transporting men and Arms; And beſides, a quicker diſpatch may be made with them here, then among the Bogs.

I expected ere this time to have heard of action to the purpoſe from my Lord Generall and Sir *William Waller*: But I ſuppoſe that *Oxford* being a place watered almoſt quite round with ſmall rivulets, the confluence of waters there, in this great fall of rain, hath much hindred them from attempting any thing of moment as yet. Sir *William Waller* (I heare) is gotten ſomewhat neer *Oxford* on the South-weſt ſide; And his Excellency hath obtained Godſtow-bridge on the North-weſt, his Army ſtretching as far thence as *Iſlip* and further; ſo that if the waters bee once ſwaged, you will hear of a totall ſiege. His Maſteſty is in *Oxford*, and if we do not ſee him now to return to his Parliament of himſelf, I hope ſome have as much will as power to bring him.

Printed according to Order for L. F.

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A NEW 20
INVENTION;

OR,



By helpe whereof may be read so small a Print
that what twenty sheetes of paper will hardly
containe shall be discover'd in one ; besides,
they have such a speciall vertue in them, that
he that makes right use of them though hee
hath beene blinde three or foure yeares will
recover his sight very perfectly.

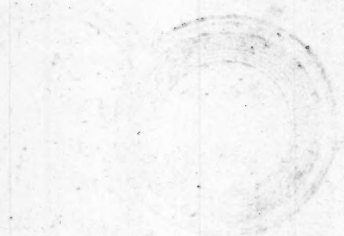
*These Glasses in indifferent lights,
Serve old and yong, and middle sights.*

Printed according to Order for G. Bishop,
June 7. 1644.

A NEW

INVENTION

OF



By which the mind is preserved
 from the effects of age and
 the loss of memory, and
 the mind is kept in a
 state of youth and vigor,
 and the body is kept in a
 state of health and
 vigor, and the mind is
 recovered after a long
 illness.

These pills are in
 a small box, and will
 last for a long time.

Ordered according to Order for
 the use of the





A New Invention,

OR

**A PAIRE OF CHRISTALL
SPECTAKLES.**



Hy, how now *England*, what turned Rebell
now, that hast so many hundred yeares
been famous through the world for thy fide-
litie to thy Prince? Has there beene ever
Nation (for that) more renowned then *Eng-
land*? And wilt thou now become infamous
for the contrary? Wilt thou fight against thy
King? Was there ever the like heard of?
Dost thou not see the very Papists themselves that were wont to
make nothing of stabbing and poysoning Princes, now become so
pious and zealous that none are forwarder to take their Kings part?
you see they have turn'd over a new lease, and learned a new leason
now; this Kings Raighe has made them understand their duties,
and teach loyaltie; they know now that the King is Gods anointed,
and that tis treason to oppose him. Nay, doe not those his good
Subjects in *Ireland* that we in our rage pleas'd to call Rebells lately
because they kill'd a few Roundheads there, come over as fast as
they can possible to protect their King here against the fury of Tray-
terous Schismatickes: Shall these exceede us in loyaltie?

Shall they fight for our Prince and wee against him? No, let us shew our selves men, let us joyne with those honest Irish, faithfull Papists, and other loyall followers of his Majestie, and so make an end of these unnaturall warres an unnaturall way; let us for shame shew our selves as good Subjects as they, and fight for our King as well as they, kill one another couragiously, and so end the businesse quickly, that his Majestie may have the Reformation he seekes for, and a few slaves left to honour him; This since it is his Will (and that his *Will* must be his *Law*) we ought to subscribe to; for though wee have stood off a while for his honour and our safetie, yet when we better consider the tie that lieth upon the Subject, and that he is to be a slave or nothing at the pleasure of the Prince, wee ought to account our slaveries freedome, our follies wisdom, and imbrace with joy that absolute necessitie (so talk'd of in the world) that has no Law.

But some will say (perhaps) our lives will be tedious to us, and the remembrance of our forefathers freedoms make our bondage bitter: Tis true, it will doe so a while, but a little time will take away the remembrance of it, we shall in a few yeares be as well content with our fetters as we are now with our freedoms, when wee have beene well disciplin'd and curb'd a while, we shall forget what our forefathers were, and be glad to be any thing. But some perhaps will say this will be a great dishonour to his Maiestie; tis granted, but since it will best content him, and that we are taught it by the old Reverend Clergy, that we ought to submit to him in all things, let us make no farther question of the matter, but doe his will though we undoe him by it, if he be dishonoured and disinthron'd 'twill be his owne fault, his owne will, his owne worke, for we have ventur'd hard to save him and his Kingdomes, it has cost many thousands of lives, this (wee neede not doubt) will acquit us before God and man, and make it evident to the world that his Bishops have Preached false doctrine. Let us therefore indeavour to gaine the love of our enemies, and the name of good subiects though with our ruines; which this our contrary carriage will never do, we are yet (God helps) in a sad condition, we are still disobedient, & offer not up our lives freely enough, we kill the Catholiques that indeavour to kill us, we fight against those faithfull subiects of his Maiestie (whose fidelitie is never to be forgot) the famous Irish; we have made them leave
the

the worke at home unfinish't that they had the broad Seale for, some Protestants it seemes are alive still there, to the preiudice of the Roman Catholique Cause, and now they are come hither (for no harme to the world, but onely to kill us) wee arme our selves against them and use all meanes possible both by Sea and Land to discountenance them, notwithstanding his Maiesties command upon them to destroy the Parliament and all the Protestants here. Thus we indeavour to prolong the Worke, and grieve his Maiestie with our disloyall lives, thus wee terrifie the Jesuites and Bishops by cutting off their strength that had great hopes lately to have cut all our throats before this time: My Masters, is this fair play, have wee so carefully bin taught our duties for this? Come, come we forget our selves; let Catholiques kill and spare not, and let us according to the admonition of the *Antinobodies* shew our selves truly valiant by embracing death without resistance, that the Pope may domineere, his Maiestie reioyce, and all his cut-throate Councillours be as free from feare as they are from honesty; then will there be a brave world for them that shall live in't, then there will be no Sects nor Schismes but all of one Religion, no Preaching in houses then nor any where else; Crosses shall be restored to their golden glory, and *Pauls* recover his ancient Organpipes, *Canterburie* shall be then as white as a Saint that's now as blacke as a Devill; the Sabbath (if any) shall be free for sports, and he that bows lowest to the Altar be highest in the Bishops favour; *Saintes-dayes*, Feasts and Wakes shall be duly solemniz'd by the friendly assistance of Fiddlers, Judggers, Maypoles and Morislanders; this will be a Reformation indeede worth talking of, a Peace to the purpose, no more feares, no more ielousies, no more plots, no more Petitions then, all things that bad men wish shall be granted without asking, and (O happy age) there will be none (good) left to oppose it. What thinke yee of this Malignants? You that say you are Protestants, and yet take part with the damnedst Rebels that ever the earth bore against your Countrey, your kindred, your friends and neighbours; against the Kingdomes Lawes, your owne Liberties, the Parliament and the Gospell. What? will this freedome content you? Will this posture please you? On then in your bace resolutions with a mischief: You that will contend with God, shall man scape your malice? Be drunke, roare, whore, sweare, steale, ravish, kill, burne, and away to Court and be Knighted: He's most capable of greatnesse that's least capable of goodnesse, get honour now while ye may, take pleasure in your youth, Judgement and Hell are onely terrible words to frigate cowards. But I pray, for all the halt, let me a little rubbe your memories with the maine Motto of the Nation, *Fear God and honour the King*, see how the words stand and then consider whether God or the King

be prefer'd, The King is to be honour'd, but God is to be feared; if the honour of the King be a prejudice to the feare of God where are ye then? If the Kings command crosse the command of God to whom will ye lie? Here a reasonable judgement may discover the breach that has made all this deluge, which ignorance and malice may make wider, stoppe it they cannot. Ye have had much good counsell to little purpose, divers examples of Gods wrath, and yet yee mend not. How many wayes have men of your condition untimely miscarried before your faces, and still you remaine unmov'd; a mounst others, divers able and active men great warriors and great Malignants, such as were seldoms foild while they us'd faire play, now of late in taking a wrong hold, by a slip had their necks broke (to the grieve of all that knew them) who might have liv'd still and liv'd well had they beene well affected; for 'tis notorious that many of the same rank (indu'd with honestie) have purchased honour: And will you still be perverse against reason, against sence, against the light of your owne consciences, and the judgements of all honest and understanding Christians that by preaching, discourse and writing, make your errors evident? Can you sit still, looke on, and laugh while *England* burnes and bleedes? Was there ever a people under the sunne that would not fight for their country; Infidels, Pagans, Turkes, Sarazans, no nation so barbarous: O blush ye bastards of *England* (for legitimate children yee cannot be) that not onely refuse to fight for yours, but fight and plot against it, and *Norwiche* rip up the bowels of your owne mother. O prodemie of times, O shame of Nations. When a happie change comes where will yee bestow your selves while yee live, and whether will yee goe when ye die? what country will entertaine you? what people will trust you? heaven doubtlesse will exclude ye, and hell will be too hot for ye: But charitie indeavours to thrust in to your rescue with all the hope that may be, if God has not quite given you over yee will yet repent; Come be no longer obstinate, if your sight be decayed vse spectacles, indeavour to see, and shun infamy and shame, though ye care not for men remember the Motto, feare God and be reconciled to the Truth; thinke upon *Pauls* conversion, and your owne salvation. Joyn with the better partie yet whilst your service may be acceptable, and help to defend the kingdome for the Kings sake whom you so love and honour. Thus you shall recover the favours both of God and man, and his Majestie when the Charme is dissolved, the mist cleared, and his Person and spirit at libertie will give you thanks for your service, which will then be of greater value then all the titles of honour he can bestow in his now deplorable condition. Such as continue wilfull have their sentence, I have done with them; but all that have a desire to make Reason their Captaine, and to bee reasonable

reasonable souldiers in these unreasonable warres, let them reason the case a little further for their better resolution. The Protestant Religion is to bee maintain'd, and that it is the care and indeavour of the Kings partie to doe it must and (no doubt) will be made apparant.

First lets goe to *Rockell*, and there see how the Protestants have been protected, and their Religion maintain'd. Thither the delicate Duke of *Buckingham* went with a Commission, who did his errand so well, that all the Papists in *England* and *France* lov'd him as long as hee liv'd for'e, which which was but a little while, (*God a mercy FELTON*) but his death was but a poore price for so many thousand Protestants.

Then let us crosse to *Cadis*, another voiage, not understood by one of a thousand, we lost a number of men there, but the honour we got is not to be spoke of: The man design'd to destruction came home againe by Gods providence, and is now imployd in better service, the thing that they fear'd is come upon them. But the Spaniard by that meanes had an absolute confirmation of the fidelitie here, which was the maine cause of that voiage.

But to what end have all the late strange Taxations and Monopolles been set a foot, the Knight-hoods, Ship-money, the new Corporation of *Cox-combes*, the daintie white Sope, Raggs, Maribones, and a hundred more as thinking as these, but to poison (I would say) protect the Protestants and their Religion?

Wherefore was it whisper'd long agoe amongst the Papists that the Pope was turn'd Protestant, and wherefore have the greatest Papists in the Kingdome gone as long to Church contrary to the old order of the right Roman Catholik, but that 'twas meant we should all turne Protestants?

Why did the Bishop of *Canterbury* send a new booke to the *Scots*; that his Holinesse of Rome had before sent to him, wherein was contained much of the Protestant Religion, contrived by the Pope himselse, but that twas resolved the Religion should be maintain'd?

Wherefore did our Bishops and other Divines shew so much humilitie in their pride, that lookers on could not chuse but laugh at them; why did they alter the Table, Altar their Posture, alter their Preaching, alter their Writing, alter their Habits, and alter their Titles, but that they meant to alter or reforme the Protestant Religion?

Why was the booke of the holy Inquisition (though some precise people call it the bloody Inquisition) sold in *London* familiarly, and posted up in divers places to terrifie some beholders, and please others; but to signifie the Protestant Religion should be protected.

Why have Parliaments beend broken up still, when base offenders have beene questioned, and the iustest Acts in agitation? And wherefore have

the best men beene pickt out, disgraced, and imprisoned? No doubt for the maintenance of the Protestants Religion.

What was the reason that noble Sir *William Balford* was brought out of the Tower, and *Lunsford* the Royalist put in? Alas, good Sir *William* shewed himself honest in the busines concerning my Lord *London*, and therefore no more to be trusted, and *Lunsford* was a tried blade, as right as my *Leg*, and so *Leg* and he must have two of the greatest places of trust in the Kingdome, the better to maintaine the Protestant Religion?

To what end was that Army rais'd against the Scots, Souldiers billeted in most parts of this Kingdome, an Army of eight thousand in *Ireland* in readinesse, and the Protestants there disarm'd, as the Traine-bands should have beene here, if it could have beene affected, but onely to maintaine the Protestant Religion?

For what intent did the great Spanish Fleete come so lovingly to our assistance, iust upon the instant of the Scots comming upon us, to the hazard (say to the losse) of most of their ships and men, but onely to have assisted us in the maintenance of the Protestant Religion?

Why came the King with his roaring Roisters to the House of Commons to take away the Five Sences, and so spoile the whole body, but onely to shew that hee meant to maintaine the Protestant Religion?

To what purpose was that bloody businesse set a foote in *Ireland* that his Majestie was so unwilling should be called a Rebellion? wherefore did he suffer them to kill so many thousand Innocent? Why did he joyne with his Parliament in sending over souldiers and Armes to suppresse them, and then send both for the souldiers and the Rebels themselves to come hither againe to destroy the Parliament, but that he would have the world take notice, that according to his gracious Declarations, and Proclamations he meant to maintaine the Protestant Religion?

For what cause did the King leave his Parliament and goe to *Yorke*, there raise a guard for his person as bigge as an Army, indeavour to get into *Hull* for a visite (which had indeede beene visited if he had taken it) and then take *Newcastle* (for the comfort of the City) but to make it appeare that he would maintaine the Protestant Religion?

What was the reason that her Majestie ventured her person with *Parmau* into the Netherlands, and carried away the Jewells of the Crowne, and pawn'd them for the procuring of Commanders and Amunition to helpe cut the throates of the Roundheads in *England*, Alas, onely to maintaine the protestant Religion?

Was it not for this that His Majesties Warrant was granted to arme the papists, and his Commission to fire *Oaking'ham* and other townes?

Was it not for this that hee offered three or foure Counties to the Scots, and the pillage of *London* to fight for him against the parliament, and so try how they could make themselves rich by the ruine of this and their owne Nation?

VVas it not for this that *Rubert* growne a man, has robbed thousands that help to feed him being a childe, and still continues his theeverie and butcherie, killing especially the best Ministers he meets with.

Much more might be said and many other courses taken to cleare the eye of the understanding: but he that hath any sight left may see enough here to informe his Judgement how and what religion is endeavoured to be maintained, and by that means put his resolution into a posture that may shew him to be a lover of the Truth so happily discovered which is only aimed at in the framing these new fashions.

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Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE
SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

**Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and
makes some Relations of other observable Passages
of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.**

From Friday the 31. of May. to Fryday the 7th. of June.

THe last weeke our Dove told you what favour and acceptance the *Irish* Rebels (called now his Majesties Catholique Subjects) had at *Oxford*, and what disrespect the Commissioners for the *Irish* *English* Protestants received, which being confirmed, will clearly shew the enemies end, and our danger; so that

that will any longer beleieve protestations, or be deluded by pretences, is more stupid than *Esops* Clowne who cared for nothing. A Gentleman that was an agent and Commissioner for the Irish Protestants; and hath been at *Oxford* soliciting in their behalfe, was by some of his Excellencies Scouts taken neare *Oxford*, and brought to the Parliament, and after some examination of him he was enjoyned by the House to set out in writing the truth of all that he knew of the carriage of that businesse between his Majesty and the Rebels, and between his Majesty and the Protestant Agents, which will (without doubt) be extant very shortly. And for the Earl of *Denbigh* who last weeke our Dove told you was before *Rushall-hall*, he hath now taken it, and I am informed by intelligable men that he found in that house between three and foure hundred packes of Goods, which the enemy had taken from the Carriers, passing from *Lancashire* to *London*, and from *London* to those parts; the value of the Goods is thought to be eight or 10000. l. he is now upon some designe with Colonell *Misson*, and to settle sir *Thomas Middleton* in *North-wales* whether he is intended; ere long something may be done not looked for by us.

I also told you last week of the valiant acts achieved by that noble Gentleman Colonell *Massey*, I must also tell you that on Saturday last in recompence of his faithfullnesse (or rather as a pledge of the Parliaments favour) they voted him 1000. l. per ann. out of sir *John Winters* Estate lying in those parts, whether that noble Colonell live or dye he shall be honoured, and his posterity for his vertues; when others who rob and spoile the Kingdome to enrich themselves, shall be rendered infamous to posterities, and accursed while they live; and truly my heart bleeds that some one man in a private Garrison should be knowne to have gained 10000. l. and yet never strooke blow against the enemy, nor drew a sword but at his owne souldiers. These are *Achanes*, God guide our *Iosuahs* to finde them out, and let restitution be made to the wronged.

From *Plymouth* we are certified by severall Letters to severall persons, that the Garrison in that Towne have done bravely, which is at this time governed by Lieutenant Colonell *Martin*, who with the rest have lately fallen upon the enemy, and returned back victorious, having slaine many of the enemy, taken many prisoners, many Armes, and Ordnance, and good horse, with other Cattle, Cowes, and Sheepe; I doe but name it, there being already a large relation thereof extant.

From

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From *Lyme* we are certified by Letters, that on the 27. of May, the enemy made an assault against the Towne very furiously, in so much that the souldiers in the Garrison seemed to retreat from their workes, but did it to draw the enemy the faster on, who entred the worke very thick, and when there was about three hundred of the enemy entred, the Garrison souldiers came on bravely upon advantage, and slew the most of them; some they tooke prisoners, and of that three hundred some few onely escaped, and the rest of the enemy retreated, who were pursued; many of them were slaine and hurt, and some Armes and Ammunition taken from them: I intreat the Reader to consider this, and endeavour to make others to take notice of it too; that those two Townes, *Plymouth*, and *Lyme*, have bin preserved beyond expectation; so that (notwithstanding the Governours and souldiers in those Garrisons have done bravely, and merited honour, yet) considering the strength, power, and advantage of the enemy against these places, their preservations is as the Ecco, of answer to the earnest and continued prayers that have been put up to God in the behalfe of all the West parts; and as there hath been constant Fasts kept for the West in particular, so let it not be neglected, having so great encouragement to goe on; nor let those Fasts be ended till God give such an answer as may engage us to as publique a Thanksgiving; doe but waite by faith, with patience till Gods time be come, and then what we expect will be beyond what wee looke for. They of that party doe confesse, and by Letters intercepted (of late from the besiegers of *Lyme*) sent to *Oxford* they say, that little hole, the Towne of *Lyme*, hath been the destruction of more Gentlemen and valiant souldiers, then all the former sieges in the West.

Upon the Lords day last a partee of horse and foote sallyed out from *Basing House* towards *Odium*, where was Colonell *Jones*, and two or three troopes of Colonell *Nortons* horse, they with the forces of *Surry*, and *Sussex*, &c. commanded by Colonell *Morley*, and Col. *Oneshame* were preparing to draw together to besiege *Basing House* at a distance, and to keepe in those plunderers, who have cessed the Country at 800. or 1000. l. presently to be brought in to them; but Col. *Jones* being vigilant, drew out his foot and met *Basing* forces, sending those two or three troops of horse about, so that when he fell on the front with his foot the horse came in on the reare, at which the enemies horse fled, and all the foot with their armes were taken, and the horse pursued almost to *Basing House*; the number of the foote

that were taken were about eight score, and 150. Armes, Captaine Rowland, Lieutenant Rowland, Lieut. Lucas, Lieut. Iary and others; there will be some course taken about *Greenland-house* shortly, and then the waies will be cleare to passe, and to Traffick between *London* and the West. There is some report (and I hope true) that Col. Browne shall be made Governour of *Reading*, but of that we shall heare more shortly.

Colonell Goring after he had basely and barbarously plundered *Lecestershire*, and was gone into *Derbyshire*, in his way toward *Sheffield*, among many other his wicked acts he came to *Graytrex* house at *Brassington*, about ten miles from *Derby*, and most basely (because this *Graytrex* formerly refused to be a Traitor to his Country, in conveying a Letter from Goring to the Queene, when she was in those parts, for which he was offered 100. l. by Goring) he with his own hands set fire of *Graytrex* house, which he burnt to the ground; this Goring hath been twice the Parliaments prisoner, and is now become three times more injurious to the Kingdome then ever, as if he desired to be famous for infamy. We have formerly complained of *Hastings*, whom Goring so farre exceeds in baseness that he termeth *Hastings* a Round-head, and hath so spoken of him in the Country; saying (of himselfe) that he was neither for King nor Parliament, but for the Queene and himselfe. Now these rebels begin to cast off the maske of Hypocrisie, and speake plain Romish Popery, they are now as far past shame as grace.

From *Derby* we are certified that after Gorings horse were gone out of those parts, sir *Iohn Gell* sent out a partee of horse towards *Asby*, to fetch horse and beasts from *Hastings*, but *Hastings* having notice, drew out some horse, and about eighty foote, and came to meet sir *Iohn Gells* horse, but before he could place his men, or put them in order as he intended, sir *Iohn Gells* horse fell on them both front and reare, *Hastings* himselfe being in the reare, *Hastings* escaped hardly, he was wounded in the arme, five of his men were slaine, and five were taken prisoners, many wounded, and so they retreated, and disorderedly ran to the house; some leaving their horse, so that sir *Iohn Gell* returned, having taken about ninety horse, and forty good Oxen, which they carried to *Derby*.

It is further certified, that a partee of the enemies horse (were assisted by some malignant Gentlemen (as it is said) in the associated Counties, who promised to bring assistance to them) came into *Nottinghamshire*, of which that trusty and valiant Gentleman Colonell

Ionell *Hutchins* having notice, he sent out a partie, and tooke one hundred and forty of the enemies horse, 80. at one place, and 60. at another, and two Captains with divers others are taken; those Captains are by command to be strictly looked to, and examined, to find out who those Gentlemen are in any of the association Counties that gave them encouragement.

The Intelligence that comes from *Lancashire* is bloody, as is the man so are the actions; *Rupert* the plundering bloody Prince having entered into *Lancashire*, fell upon the Towne of *Bolton*, which was not a strong Garrison but a market Towne, weakly fortified, and from thence *Rupert* was repulst twice or thrice, and they slew many of the enemy; but at last the enemy broke in upon the Towne, and refused to give quarter to any that bore armes. Divers Gentlemen, and commanders of quality were cruelly put to the sword without any mercy; and which is worse, many innocent persons of both sexes, who were in the barbarous unlimited souldiers way were cruelly butchered. But the worst, and most savage of all the rest was that upon cold blood, that bloody *Rupert* caused the lives of severall Divines (godly and zealous Preachers) to be taken away; we have severall Letters certifying the same, and all agree in these generalls, but I confesse they vary in particulars, about number, and circumstance, and for that cause I purposely omit to set downe, either the manner of *Rupert*s cruelty, or the number he in his inhumanity slew; or the number he lost by those few in the Towne before he could enter, the certainty of which I leave to the next weekes returne of our Dove; onely thus much I will say in way of observation from this cruel act, that *Rupert*s destruction is certaine, and neare at hand; the ground or reason is hence; he hath wilfully and maliciously upon cold blood imbrewed his hands in the blood of the Lords Anointed; I prove it thus; Gods Elect are Gods anointed as well as Kings; and God hath (not onely) reproved Kings, but destroyed Kings and Princes for their sakes: the prohibition is cleare, see it Psal. 105. 14, 15: *Touch not mine anointed, nor doe my prophets no harme.* Prophets were the Messengers of God, 2 Chron. 36. 16. and the Ministers, or Preachers of the Gospell are Christs Ambassadors, 2 Cor. 5. 20. Now if it stand not with the honour of a Prince to suffer his Ambassadors to be abused, it is dishonour to Christ to have his faithfull Ambassadors to be barbarously murdered, and hee will avenge it upon *R Y P E R T*: give mee leave thus farre to predict (I am no Prophet) that though wee are

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are not low enough in humiliation for a full deliverance; yet our
enemies are high enough in Rebellion, and prophaneſſe againſt
God, to be deſtroyed: God can cut them off, and humble us, by
his own hand ſome other way, as pleaſeth him; *It is hard to kick a-
gainſt pricks, when the wicked are multiplied, tranſgreſſion increaſeth,
but the righteous Lord ſhall ſee their fall: Rupert hath done much
ſpoil in thoſe parts of that country about Bolton, by killing and
ſtealing: but he that ſpoileth ſhall be ſpoiled.*

From his Excellencies Army we have had ſeverall Meſſengers,
and Relations, by Letters of their daily progreſſe; in brief thus.
After his Excellency had marcht neer *Oxford* the laſt week, and
had drawn up his Army upon *Bullington* green, he viewed the
Town, and the Enemy not appearing, he quartered at *Iſlip*, ſince
which there have been ſeverall skirmiſhes about ſeverall Bridges,
the diſpute being hot, who ſhould command them, namely, *Gozzard-
bridge, Newbridge, and Aueſlowbridge*, over the River *Charwell*;
and men hath been loſt on both ſides, but the greater loſſe on the
Enemies; his Excellency is Maſter of the Bridge, and may advance
or retreat on either ſide of the Rivers as he pleaſeth: Captain *Co-
ningham*, a valiant brave Gentleman, had his Arm ſhot off, ſome
men more of quality were wounded; And (as it hath been aver-
red by ſome that ſay they were eye-witneſſes) after the skirmiſh
was ended, eight or nine cart-load of the Enemies dead were car-
ried into *Oxford*.

Upon which, the State Ambaſſadors, with two white Flags car-
ryed before them, came to the Lord Generall, ſaying, They deſired
to be ſo happy, as to be a means to make a Peace between his Majo-
ſtie and Parliament; asking his Excellency, if they did deſire a
Peace? his Excellency answered, They had reaſon to deſire it, ha-
ving ſo great an intereſt in the Kingdom: And their War, he ſaid,
was for Peace: Then the States asked his Excellency, if hee had
any power to Treat, or to accept of Propoſitions? His Excellency
ſaid, He had not that power in himſelf, but by conſent of Parliament.
So the States returned back to *Oxford*.

On Wednesday we were certified, that the Lord Generall was
in *Woodſtock*, and that the Kings Foot were got into *Oxford*; their
whole Army being not above 8000 horſe and foot, and they are in
great diſtraction; they have for ſeverall dayes either wiſt part of
their Army, or with their whole Army, marcht between *Oxford*
and *Woodſtock*: And their beſt refuge hath been, to go from one
ſid

side of the River to the other: The Kings Horse (as we are this Thursday informed) are fled out into the country, what will be the issue, God onely knoweth: It is our parts who are at home, to pray to God for his assistance, and to wait upon him for a blessing upon our Armies endeavours, and to submit to our Noble and well experienced Lord Generalls wisdom, who no doubt (through Gods assistance) will do what shall be best, But let not us that sit at home and see nothing, judge their actions, nor murmur against them whom we trust, however the event prove, for that is sin against God, and discouragement to our Worthies.

Sir Charles Blunt having beaten one of the Souldiers of the Trained Bands of Oxford, was pistoll'd by that Souldier, very neer his Majesties own person: Sir William Spencer, a rich and perfidious Papist, is taken by the Lord Generall, and fifty more at Gizzard-bridge.

Captain Zachry, who (by a mistake seizing a ship in Holland) was committed to prison (as our Dove told you some Weeks past:) This Captain Zachry, during the time of his imprisonment, was often visited by one Master Pierson, an old acquaintance of his who was then in Holland, to truck for Arms, and was Master of a Vessel belonging to Scarshrough, whether he was to return with those Arms: But this Master Pierson being converted to God and the Parliament, by Captain Zachrys good advertisement and admonitions: Captain Zachry at his enlargement went aboard his Bosome, and they came both to London on Munday last, and have brought with them 4000 Arms, intended for Scarshrough, 2000 Muskets, and 2000 Pikes.

The Lord Shandois hath deserted Oxford, and submitted himself, (and divers other Gentlemen of equality with him) to the mercy of the Parliament; he hath been at Alcebury six or seven dayes, and is suddenly expected at London.

We had the last Week a report that Monro, Generall of Scotch and English forces in Ireland, was marcht to Tredeagh with 18000 men, Scotch and English, and that he had sent to the Lord Ormond, by way of Summons, to take the Covenant, or declare himself, whether he would maintain the defence of the Irish Rebels, &c.

Since that report, we have another report, and it comes by Letter from Hull, that they have had a very great battell in Ireland, wherein many thousands were slain; I am doubtfull of the truth of this, though it is possible to be true, yet it is not very probable.

From

From *Edenbrough* we are certified, that when the Marquess of *Arguile* (of whom our Dove told you three weeks since) approached neare *Aberdene*, Marq. *Huntley* and his associates all fled, the Marquesses of *Aberdene* then desired the Marq. of *Arguile* to enter the Town; who refused, and made this answer, *His enemies could fly, and he would follow them, but he hoped he should find the Towne in the same place at his returne*. The Marq. *Huntley* and the rest being by him hotly pursued, betook themselves to their severall Castles, then the Marquess of *Arguile* divided his forces and besieged those Castles; at the beginning of the siege there were severall skirmishes, and the enemy discharged severall shots of ordnance but to little purpose; after some few daies siege upon intimation made to the common souldiers, that if they did not render themselves within 24. houres they should be deemed traitors to the State; severall of them fled, the rest refused to fight, and the whole Castles were surrendered to the estates. The L. of *Huddo* and *Giehr* two maine sticklers in that rebellion are now prisoners in the common Goale at *Edenbrough*, and are to receive the sentence of the Parliament now sitting. The L. *Banks*, and L. *Drum* have likewise rendered themselves to the mercy of the Estates. The Marq. *Huntley* at his earnest request had liberty for 24. houres, who promised to come and submit himselfe, but in that time he stole away privately to sea in a little boate; upon notice whereof the Committee of Estates sent forth Proclamations, offering 1000. peeces to any man that could produce the Marquess, either living or dead. There is a Garrison left in *Aberdeen* for the security of the north of *Scotland*.

The Marq. of *Arguile* went with his forces to the remotest places in *Scotland* except the Isles, to purge those countries of Malignants, and is now returned to *Edenbrough* to the Parliament conveyed upon Tuesday the 14. of May. The whole Kingdom of *Scotland* is now in very good peace (God be praised) and they are sending those forces thither which should have been sent at the first. The Earl of *Caithness* is marching toward *New-castle* with 8000. men.

The King is fled, with 2000. horse, he first stayed at *Burford* 12. miles from *Oxford*, and from thence as his Majesty pleased, Sir Will. Waller is close after him in pursuit, and his Excellency after him; Col. *Milton* hath taken 8. carriages fully laden of Col. *Hunkes* treasure, which is said to be worth 20.000. l. and since hath taken 10. more, and driven away of his horse that come out of *Strawbury* 10. of his best horses except six which ran backe. *Dublin* is blockt up with the Parliaments Ships, that no ship can come in or out but by their leave. By Letter this day from the siege of *Yerik* is certified, that Tuesday or Wednesday at the furthest General *Lifley* resolved to storme the towne, before this day it is done, the Earle of *Denbigh* hath closely besieged *Dudley Castle*. God send us good success, and God open the eyes of this King and convert him.

Printed according to Order for L. C.

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Numb. 34

The true Informer:

Continuing a Collection of the most Special and Observable

P A S S A G E S,

Which have been informed from severall Parts of His Majesties Dominions.

From Saturday June 1. to Sunday June 8. 1644.

- I. A more particular relation of the Kings advances with 4000 horse and foot, 50 Drakes, 20 Carrages, and 200 Gunners from Oxford, here His Majesty drew his forces and his dividers of his shuldiers at Burford, he young from thence towards Bristol, the L. Gibson and Sir W. Waller being advanced in pursuit of him.
- II. The Dutch Ambassadors coming to London on Tuesday last.
- III. The intended advance of Mr. Generall Browne towards Gloucester and house, for securing those parts in the absence of the L. Granville.
- IV. A particular Relation of the Archbishopps trial on Thursday last.



shall still give you an Account, upon all occasions, of the Archbishop of Canterbury as long as he lasts. Thursday last June 6. He was again brought from the Tower to the Barre in the Lords House. The Charge against him was that day managed by Sergeant Wilde and M. Nicholls. Sergeant Wilde began first with a learned Reply to the Archbishops Answer the last day, in justification of all his said innovations; as the setting up of Altars, Tapers, Images, Crucifixes.

x es, Consecration of Churches, and the like, which he did in his p^{re}ecc^t declare to be absolutely against the Word of God, and the practice of the Primitive times: which he proved from the Archbishops owne Authours, the ancient Fathers, in severall of their Bookes, namely out of *S. Augustine*, *S. Hierome contra Vigilium*, and others, and declared how farre they were all condemned by the practice and judgement of the reformed Churches, and even in our own Homilies, besides the Testimony of many learned men: all which would be too long, and not so fit in this place to be insisted upon. I shall now come to the Charge against him.

The first Charge, whereupon Witnesses were againe examined, was concerning his taking down of the Kings, Princes, and Duke of Yorkes Armes in the Kings Chappell Window, and setting up his owne Armes (supported by an Angell) in the place of them, and also in another place represented the descension of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles in the forme of downe Toppes, besides other superstitious Images, all which he performed at his own charge.

The next was concerning his causing a Crucifix to be hung up in the Kings Chappell, which occasioned much superstitious adoration, and gave great offence, as was witnessed by divers persons, and particularly by two Gentlewomen, who coming occasionally into the said Chappell upon the day commonly called *Munday Thursday*, about five yeares since, they had not stayed there long, but there came in *D. Brongre*, one of the Archbishops owne Creatures, and after thrice cringing towards the Altar, he kneeled down before the Crucifix, and made a short prayer towards it, which when he had finished, there came in two more who used the same postures: whereupon the said Gentlewomen demanding who they were, it was answered by *D. B.* That they were *Seminary Priests*: at which when the Gentlewomen wondred, he againe answered, *That he hoped to see that we should all come to do that shortly, and therefore they needed not to make any such admiration, for there was no such difference betweene our Church and the Church of Rome. All these proceedings were upon that part of the seventh Original Article, concerning his urging and injoyning divers superstitious Ceremonies without any Warrant of Law. The next part of it was, That he had cruelly persecuted those who had opposed the same, by corporall punishment, and imprisonment, and most unjustly vexed others, who refused to conform therunto, &c.*

For

For the proove of this, some former Instances were asserted, one was concerning the Church Wardens of Beckington in Somersetshire, their sentence of Excommunication in the yeare 1637. for not removing the Communion-Table in that Church, and setting it Altarwise: under which severe Sentence (then read) they continued the space of one whole yeare, to their utter undoing, and could not hve it taken off till they made their Recantation in three severall Parish Churches in that County, which did so pierce the heart of one of them, that he died shortly after, in a distracted, and sad condition.

The next was the prosecution of Master Biton Church-Warden of Lewis in Sussex, for removing the Communion Table into the Body of the Church, and setting it East and West, according to the Canon, for which he was fined 40. l. to his Majesties use, and committed to Prison, and at last forced to submit himself to Dr. Nevill Commissary of that Church, and to make his submission in the said Church, before the Congregation, that he had highly offended Almighty God in disobeying the Commands and Decrees of the Arch-Bishops Vicar Generall for the placing of the Communion Table at the upper end of the Chancel, Altar-wise.

Another was of Mr. Chancer, Minister of Ware in Hertfordshire, who was suspended and fined for preaching against the setting up of Railes about the Communion Table, and bowing towards it, which sentence would not be taken off till he had made his submission, which was to this effect.

Die Iovis, 26 Novemb. 1635.

Whereas I Charles Chancer, Clerke, Vicar of Ware in the County of Hertford, stand convicted for severall offences in the Articles herunto affixed, as for saying that the Railes were not a fit place for Communicants to resort unto, and for preaching against the said reverend use, saying it was a breach of the second Commandment, and an offence to mens consciences. I do here before this honourable Court acknowledge my great offence in using the said invectives, and am heartily sorrie for the same, and am ready to declare upon my oath, That I am now perswaded in my conscience, that kneeling at the Communion is a very laudable gesture, and that a Raile about the Communion Table is a decent and convenient ornament for that purpose, and that I

will hereafter demean my selfe peaceably and conformably to the Doctrine and Discipline, Rites and Ceremonies, established in the Church of England.

Charles Chancery.

Another charge against him was the severe proceedings obtained by his meanes against M. *Watman* an able and godly Minister in Gloucester, for preaching about 9. yeares agoe in a Sermon at the Assizes concerning the Positiions and Doctrines of the Church of England against Images, and especially of the Trinity, and that they were not fit to be used in Churches, for which he was convented into the high Commission Court, where these following Articles were by some malicious persons exhibited against him: *That whereas the said John Watman being in holy Orders about 17. yeares then last past, did in a Sermon of his, preached at the Assizes, affirme, that all Pictures or Images were no more Ornamentes to a Church, then Steves in a Common-wealth. 2. That now adies though a man be never so sober, never so drunken, yet if he were a conformable man, he was thought a fit man for any Ecclesiasticall imployment, whereas others, more dissuving men, were put by. 3. That in another Sermon he said, that the election of a Minister did more properly belong to the people, and further also at another time said, That for a man to have the Image of our Sains, especially of our Saviour, in his House, was utterly unlawful, and if any man kept such Pictures, it was little better then the Idolatry: That in his publique Prayers likewise he usually mentioned the State of Holland and the King of Sweden, and other great Generalls beyond the Sea, before his Majesty that now is. for all which, and for impugning the Authority of the Church of England by Archbishops and Bishops, (although that was not in the Article) he was suspended from the execution of his Office and Function of the Ministry, to make his submission in open Court, and the same to be sent downe to Gloucester, and there to be published after Divine Service ended, and last of all he was condemned for costs of Suit which were to be paid the next Court day.*

Besides all which when the Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell of the City of Gloucester, had by the consent of the whole City, in regard of his great paines taken among them formerly, and for that he was also put by keeping of Schooles, which course he was forced

forced to take for the livelyhood for himself, his Wife, and Children, upon condition that he would stay with them in that City, he being very usefull unto them in visiting their sick, and relieving the poore and other Christian services; they allowed him 20. l. per Annum, during his life, which annuity was by the Bishops procurement taken away from him, and many of the Citizens which had given their consent in it, were summoned into the high Commission Court, fined and indamaged to the value of 200. l.

The next was the censure of M. *Sharpe* about 11. yeares agoe in Star Chamber, he was fined 500. l. and to make his submission in the Parish Church of Salisbury, for defacing of the Window in that Church, wherein were divers Images which had been very offensive: one was the representation of God the Father, in the likenesse of an old man in a blew coat, like a Shepherd, before which it was usuall for many ignorant people to bow, for proof whereof there were foure witnesses then sworne in the Star Chamber, who deposed, that a woman came often to kneele before it, and being asked to whom she prayed, she made answer, to her great God Almighty in the Window, and at another time a man came, and did the like, using the same answer, notwithstanding which the Archbishop of Canterbury did then justify the representation of God the Father, and said, that divers of the Ancients did make it both in the Chalices and other places, representing him as a Shepherd carrying home the lost Sheep on his back, and said that many of the Lutherans did approve of it, further adding that if the Picture of *Jupiter* were set up and worshipt, it was not lawfull for a Church Warden or the Vestry to pull it downe.

It was further proved against him, that about the year 1636, when his Chaplaine M. *Wylke* had licensed certain Bibles with superstitious pictures for one *Bader* the Archbishops Printer, which being complained of by some of the Companie of Stationers, the Archbishop returned answer, *That they might sell them to those that desired them, though they did not lay them openly upon the Stall.*

The last was, that D. *Faesty* having formerly published a Booke called *Clavis Mystica*, being about after wards to reprint it, the Archbishop would not permit it, but sent for the said Doctor, upon whose coming he did at last consent to it, so his Chaplain D. *Bray* might

might look it over, that there might nothing passe in it contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England: and accordingly the Booke was left a quarter of a yeare with him, during which time he struck out divers of the most speciall passages against Popery, Amianisme, and Images: and among others, one particular passage was, when he proved by undeniable Arguments, That the first Lights in our Reformation condemning these practices of the Romane Church, as no lesse Idolatrous then the practice of the Heathen, for that the Popish Images were made both of the same matter, and worshipped in the same manner as the Heathen ones were: which with all such like passages, was strucke out by the Archbishops meanes, as contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England.

So much for the triall of his little Grace. I shall now proceed to other Intelligence.

Henley.

By Letters from Henley dated June 3. it is advertised as follows.

SIR,

I shall now acquaint you with the passages here since my last. This morning we went out a party of about 400. to Greenland house, and by 11. a clocke our Dragoons (coursing before the Face, entered Henley, and there found 7. Cavaliers, all well armed, collecting victuals and drinke; they discovered us not till we were in the Towne, but stood desperately to it, fired foure or five times apeece, and we having kil'd their Chaplaine (who refused quarter) they fled, at last we took a Lieutenant, an Ensigne, and two more, when they were saue backe to Greenland house within twice musket shot. We desire but a reasonable helpe to send them packing, God send us faire weather: they are about 120. no horse, 4. or 5. Peeeces. I disarmed the Lieutenant, and tooke him alone, and shot one bullet of the two into the Priest's body: he shot six times at us at foure yards distance, but hurt not a man of us, thanks be to God.

H. G.

Oxford.

Oxford

The Intelligence from the Armies before Oxford I know is the most expected, which as it was advertised on Thursday last, June 6. was this: That on Munday night last his Majesty with about 1000 Horse, and two Regiments of Foot, which were to guard about 32 Coaches with Ladies and other light Carriages, from Oxford, and came to Burford the next night, whither he had not come above two or three houres, but their Scouts brought Intelligence that Sir William Wallers Army were come to Witney within five miles of them to which place he advanced upon Intelligence also from his Scouts that the King was marched that way, whereupon his Majesty immediately rose up, and gave command to his Officers to hasten the Souldiers to march away presently, which they endeavouring to doe, found them very unwilling, being much tired by their long March the day before, whereupon his Majesty himself came in Person, and to overcome their obstinacy, drew forth his Sword and cut divers of them, and thereby enforced them to be in a readinesse, but he went before with about two or three hundred Horse to ward Shrewsbury, still continuing a way about an houre after him.

The Lord Generall and Sir William Waller are now advanced in pursuit of Him, resolving to wait upon Him whither soever he shall goe: they have already fallen upon some of his Reare, and (as is reported) have taken five carriages, some Drakes, and killed, taken, and dispersed many of them, besides those which desert him daily.

There are not above three thousand Horse and Foot left at Oxford, which are in so much extremity for want of provisions, especially of Hay and Oats for their Horse, they having had none formerly, but what they plundered from the countreyes.

The Townsmen and others would be very glad to have any occasion to get forth, if any opportunity of escape were.

On

On Friday last June 7. by a Messenger from the L. Generall Army it was more particularly certified, that His Majesty, with the Prince went from Oxford on munday night last with 2000. Horse, and as many Foot, which they carried behind them to Burford) the Drakes, and 20. Carrriages, from whence he intended for Worcester, but the Plague being there, he wheeled about to Gloucester, and thence for Bristol: Sir *William Waller* was then very near him, and the Lord. Generall also advanced from Chipping-Norton on Tuesday morning in pursuit of him.

This day we had a confident report of the routing of *R. Ripby* by the Barlot *Manchester* and *Sir Thomas Fairfax* his Forces, but there is no credit to be given to it. All the intelligence from the North is that the Siege before York continues, and that *Sir John Mordaunt* was advanced towards Lancashire with a considerable party, and not above six score men (whereof foure Ministers) were put to death at Bolton; but that *Col. Ripby* was escaped to the Army before York.

The much honoured Major Generall *Browne* is designed by the honourable Houses of Parliament, and Committee of both Kingdoms, to go suddenly forth with a considerable strength, upon as considerable a designe, much good is expected upon his undertakings, in his indeavours and gallant resolutions God hath still crowned with remarkable success. It would be happy if those benevolent Citizens (that have lately offered much, besides what they are now for having done already) would take this opportunity, and accompany the said Major Generall well hors'd and arm'd to put a speedy issue to our manifold miseries.

Thursday the Dutch Ambassadors came from Oxford to London, but brought by white flags for peace with them, as was our Authority most fully published.

Published according to Order.



A1 Exact and True ²³

RELATION

In
Relieving the resolute GARRISON
Of

LYME

In DORSET-SHIRE,

By the Right Honourable, Robert
Earle of *Warwicke*, Lord High Admirall
of ENGLAND.

Besieged by Prince *Maurice*, the Lord *Inchiquin*,
and his Irish Rogues, together with the Lord *Pawlet*.

As also the particular passages in many gal-
lant Sallyes and assaults betwixt the Enemy and
themselves, with the brave courage of many female Soul-
diers: As also the taking two ships of great value,
that were comming to relieve the enemy;
and the present condition in which the
Town at this instant is, with other
remarkable news from *Excester*.

As it was sent by a speciall and faithfull hand, from
His Majesties Ship called the *Tamew*, riding now at Anchor
before *Lyme*, Dated *June* the first.

June 10. Printed for *Matbew Walbank*. 1644.

RELATION

Relating the Revolt of

L. Y. M. E.

In Do.

By the Right Honourable

Lord of the Admiralty

Ordered by Prince

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As it was

His Majesty

before

An exact and true
RELATION

IN
 Relieving the resolute garrison of
LIME in Dorsetshire.

Deare Sir,

I Have written one Letter to you since I came in to this Bay. Yesterday I received yours of the 24 of May, rejoycing much in that health which God pleaseth yet to continue to you and my familie at home. I thank God I am well, onely much tediousness of spirit is contracted from the sad spectacle that besieged **Lime** doth continually offer to our view, a Towne that deserves abundance of pittie and love, they being still under the violence of a cruell Enemy. Captaine **Pine**, of whose wounding I writ to you in my last, is since dead: God brought my Lord hither to a singular purpose, it tending to save that distressed Towne hitherto, having not in it at this Lordships coming, above two dayes bread, and a small quantitie of Ammunition. There are in the Towne 4000 soules, whereof 1000 in Garrison, who though they want Shooes, Stockings, Clothes, and pay, and have not departed from **Lime** since the beginning of the siege, yet are all of them resolved

to stand out to the last man: and when they can doe no more, to breake through the Enemye with their swords.

At my Lords first comming, he sent on shore neere 40 barrells of Powder and some Match, which came along with his Lordship purposely for their reliefe. The Ships under his Lordships command did before his comming, spare what provisions they could, none comming to them from other parts, and the passages by Sea being neer blockt up, his Lordship contracted for 350 pounds worth of Corn and other Provisions, being then bound for Plymouth to be sold there, and tooke order to send it into the Towne, himselfe undertaking the price.

The condition and course of the besieged did so prevvaile with our Sea-men, that on Saturday last, out of their poore overplus, they sent them above 20 paire of Boots, 10 paire of Shoes, 160 paire of Stockings, some Linnen and old clothes, and some quantitie of Fish and Bread, that they had formerly saved out of their Storehouses. They did also unanimously give out fourth parte of their bread for the next foure moneths, amounting to 2000 weight, which their hard labour and constant durie might advise them to have desired rather for their own bellies. On Monday last, my Lord and the Ship with him, determin'd to spare them 2000 weight of bread more, and some quantities of Beefe, Porke, Shot, Fish, and other necessaries. That day some of our Sea-men were desired by the Towne to looke to the Lyne, while 600 of the Garrison sallied on the Enemye, and 300 men were resolved to be sent: but the same

same day the Towne received a terrible storme from
 the Enemye, yet with little advantage to the besiegers;
 they loosing about 40, and the Towne but eight; one of
 ly some of their Commanders were then hurt, viz. Col-
 onnell *Wheeler* was shot in the belly, but not danger-
 ously; and Lieutenant Colonnell *Blake* was slightly
 hurt in the foot. The Townesmen of the three Cap-
 taines that led up the forlorne hope, killed one Cap-
 taine *Southern*, who had 'on the Lord *Faulconer* own Ar-
 mour, and tooke prisoner another, viz. Captaine
Aspen, who was the next day brought aboard our
 Ship. This Captaine *Aspen* is brother to a servant of
 Master *Ketchum* in *Wills Street*; the Enemye refused to
 take off their dead, resolving to burie them, and not
 take the Towne altogether. But God afterwards
 corrected their daring & presumptuous Cruelty. The
 Garrison being encouraged by this success, resolved
 to prosecute their former purpose of sallying; and in
 pursuance thereof, on Tuesday night last, the 300
 men were sent safely on shoare, though to make good
 their landing 300 of the Townesmen were slain. On
 the same Tuesday, his Lordship determin'd to send
 two of his Ships, & all the ship-boats fited with men
 towards *Charmouth*, *Ainsport*, & other places about six
 miles frō *Lime*, that the Enemyes opinion of our land-
 ing men in those parts, might draw off the horse, when
 by the fallie would be more secure and advantageous.
 And on Wednesday last the ships and boats were ac-
 cordingly sent out, at a time signified from the towne
 by shooting off a Gun from *Dart* fort, and giving an
 alarme on the East shoare, obtained what was in de-
 signe. For all the day long, foure or five troopes of
 horse,

horse, and some hundreds of foot, attended the moving of the ships and boats, from whence diverse great shot and small shot played into lands, which forced the enemy to cast up a breast-work by the sea side for their owne defence. The enemy mistooke the intention, supposing that these boats had in the night taken men out of the Towne, with purpose to set them on shore, for getting of provisions into the Towne, or to fall on the reare, and thereby thinking the Towne to be weakned, they did on the same Wednesday neere the time appointed for sallying, assault the Towne with great furie: from about sixe at night to about eight at night, there was such a continuall peale of small shot and great shot, that the Towne seemed to be all on a flame; twice the enemy made an orderly retreat, appearing each time in a body of about a thousand men. The third assault was most violent, the enemy advancing with brave resolution, and being as gallantly received by the Townesmen. A little after eight of the clock there was a remitting of the former furie, and about nine, an almost generall silence. There was slain of the enemy in this assault, as some of the Towne this day aboard computed, foure hundred, and of the garrison, but six or seven kild and wounded, whereof Major *Townsend* was one, who was shot in the head, but is still alive. Amongst the slaine, there was found one Gentleman that came that morning from *Exeter* with Letters for *Oxford*, whither he would faine have carryed the newes of the taking of *Lyme*, but God prevented him, and the Letters found in his pocket are sent to *London*, the principall thing imparted by them being, that they heard

the wayes to *Oxford* began to be obstructed; that the *Queene* was better then formerly, and much comforted in *Doctor Aiers* comming on Sabbath day last.

On Thursday last there was a parley in the Towne, the enemye desiring to burie their dead, which before they scorn'd:

Yesterday some reliefe came for the Towne by Sea, and in the afternoone part of the Towne was fired, yet but three houses burnt. This day another part of the Towne was fired, and at this instant the fire encreaseth, and twentie new houses are burnt.

You may now judge the state of poore *Lynn*, but if you saw it as it is continually before us, your eyes would much affect your heart, considering that such gallant spirits, worth a Nation indeed, should be the subjects on which the rage and madness of a base and cruell enemye is from day to day exercised and imprinted.

If *London* knew their merit and condition, I am confident they would not only compassionate them, but relieve them: what is wanting in men, will be made up I hope by the power and providence of heaven, whose salvation hath bin hitherto appointed by God, for their waile and bawling: some things I may not omit, that at the late storming, one woman shot off 16 Musquets upon the enemye, and the women of the Town generally did fill the Souldiers Bandoliers while they fought: the continuance of their dangers having much blunted the sense of their dangers, retaining in their spirits a constant cheerefulness, as knowing they shall have deliverance,

ther from the affliction, or by it: and to all let me
 adde, that this mercy to them was the result, I doubt
 not of the prayers put up at the instant on their be-
 halfe, from aboard as well as in other parts of the
 Kingdome.

We have taken upon the seas since our setting from
 the Downs, 2 prizes, one a *Dartmouth* vessel, laden with
 oyle and salt for *Holland*, and the other was brought
 into us on Saturday last which was a Dutch Gallie
 laden with commodities for the enemies at *Spilham*,
 and *Exeter*, to the value of 8000 *li*, and the Master
 of the Gallie himselfe confessed, that they had for
 her more sence privy, the company of two States
 men of War, who had aboard their ships 4 barrils
 of money amounting to 1000 *Dollars*, confined to
 some malignants in *Exeter*, the fact of which whole
 charge the money was committed, being aboard the
 men of war, was loathe to be discovered, but at length
 being apprehended, and brought before his Lordship
 was for some peremptory speech to my Lord put
 in safe custody: the goods will prove undoubted
 prize.

From aboard his Majesty's ship the *James*, at
 Leguier, before him, the first of June.

This is Licensed according to Order.

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THE
NEW
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LIBRARY

AN
ORDINANCE
 OF THE
 Lords and Commons assembled
 in PARLIAMENT;

Constituting and appointing Sergeant Major Generall *Richard Brown*, to be Sergeant Major Generall of all the Forces raised, or to be raised and imployed by Authority of Parliament, for the reducing of the City of *Oxford*, the Town and Castle of *Wallingford*, the Fort of *Greenland-House*, and the Town and Castle of *Banbury*; As also Sergeant Major Generall of the Forces of the counties of *Oxon*, *Berky* and *Buckingham*; And of the Forces of the said City of *Oxford*, to serve for

The Defence of the King, Parliament and Kingdom,

For this present Expedition.

And to do any other thing whatsoever, for the infesting and destroying the Enemy in those parts.

Also, the said Sergeant Major Generall *Richard Brown* is hereby enabled to call together and assemble a Councell of War, for the executing of Justice upon Offenders.

Die Sabbathi, 8. Junii, 1644.

Hen. Ellsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for *Matthew Walbanck* at *Grayes-Inne gate*. June 10. 1644.

ORDINANCE

OF THE

Lords and Commons

in Parliament

Continuing and appointing

for General

General of all the Forces

employed by Authority of Parliament

City of Oxford and Castle of Windsor

of the Tower and the Tower of London

As also the Major General of the Forces

res of Great Britain and Wales

of the said City of Oxford

The Defence of the Kingdom

Inherent and Indivisible

For the better

And to do any other thing whatsoever

and defending the same in those parts

Also the said Sergeant Major General

by enabled to call together and assemble a Council of War

for the executing of Justice upon Offenders

The Sabbath 8. June 1644.

Hen. Ellinge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London Printed for W. B. at the Gunpowder

In the year 1644.

Die Sabbathi, 8. Junii, 1644.

AN ORDINANCE
OF THE
LORDS AND COMMONS
ASSEMBLED IN
PARLIAMENT:



That the Lords and
Commons As-
sembled in Par-
liament, Doe
heereby consti-
tute and ap-
point Sergeant
Major Gene-
rall Richard Browne to be Sergeant
Major Generall of all the For-
tes, raised, or to be raised and
imployed by Authority of Par-
liament.

itament, for the reducing of the
 City of Oxford, the Town and
 Castle of Wallingford, the Fort
 of Greenland House, and the
 Town and Castle of Banbury:
 As also Sergeant Major Gene-
 rall of the Forces of the Coun-
 ties of Oxon, Berks, and Buck-
 ingham: And of the Forces of
 the said City of Oxford, to serve
 for the Defence of the R^{ty} M^{ty},
 Parliament, and Kingdom, for
 this present expedition: And
 doe hereby Will and requre the
 said Sergeant Major Generall
 Richard Brown, to take the said
 Forces into his Charge as Ser-
 geant Major Generall, and to
 make his present repaire unto
 the said Counties, giving him
 hereby Power and Authority to
 Command, Lead, and Conduct
 the same into any part of the
 said Counties or parts adjacent;

or in the absence of the Earle of Essex Lord Generall, as Sergeant Major Generall to do any other Act or thing, as he in his Judgment shall think fit for the defence and security thereof: And also to draw forth of the said Counties, such well-affected Souldiers as will follow him for the Service aforesaid: And also to secure the severall Forts, Castles, and Towns within the said Counties, for the safety of King, Parliament, and Kingdom as aforesaid, and preservation of the aforesaid Counties and parts adjacent from Spoile and Rapine. And the said Lords and Commons doe hereby likewise Authorise the said Sergeant Major Generall Richard Brown, to nominate and appoint all such Officers as shall be by him thought requisite for the

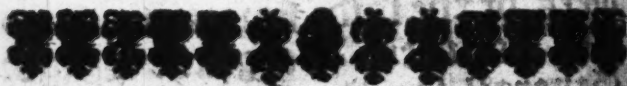
the better Conduct of the said
 Forces, and diligently to Exer-
 cise the said Forces in Armes;
 as also to call together and As-
 semble a Councell of Warre, to
 consist of Twelve Colonells or o-
 ther Officers, or more, as he in his
 discretion shall think fit, none to
 be under the degree of Captains:
 And do Constitute and Appoint
 him President of the said Coun-
 cell, to Examine upon Oath all
 such witnesses as he shall finde
 necessary for the clearing of the
 Truth, in Cases which shall de-
 pend before him; and to heare
 and Determine all and every
 Crimes and Offences to be com-
 mitted or done by any Officer
 or Souldier under his Com-
 mand, by vertue of this Ordi-
 nance; and to Punish and Exe-
 cute Justice upon them, and all
 Crimes which shall be committed
 his

(87)
his power, as he in his Judge-
ment, by the advice of his Coun-
sell of Warre, according to the
rules of Marshall Law publi-
sh'd by his Excellency the Earle
of Essex Lord Generall of the
Forces for the King and Parli-
ament, shall think fit: And to
doe any other thing whatsoever
as to him shall seeme requisite,
for the infesting and destroying
of the Enemy in those parts,
and Reducing the said City of
Oxford, Town and Castle of Wal-
lingford, the Town and Castle of
Banbury, the Fort of Greenland-
house and parts adjacent; Com-
manding all Officers and Soul-
diers of the said Forces to Obe-
y him as their Sergeant Major
Generall for the Service above-
mentioned, according to this
Commissiion given him: And
the said Sergeant Major Ge-
nerall

nerall Richard Brown, is likewise
 from time to time to observe
 and follow such Orders and Di-
 rections as hee shall receave
 from both Houses of Parlia-
 ment, the Committee of both
 Kingdomes, and the Earle of
 Essex Lord Generall, or any of
 them: And the Lord Generall
 is hereby desired, to grant a
 Commission according to the
 Tenor of this Ordinance.



FINIS.



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25
A LETTER

FROM THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT

Earle of VV ARWICKE, Lord
High-admirall of *England*:

TO
The Speaker of the House
of PEERES.

VVith an exact Diurnall of all the
most speciall and remarkable passages which
have hapned during the siege of *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*
by Pr. MAURICE his Forces, from the
21 of *February* to this present.

Die Jovis, 10 Junii, 1644.

Ordered by the Lords assembled in Parliament, that the
L. Admirals Letter, with the Diurnall concerning *Lyme* be
forthwith printed and published.

J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-bailly,
June, 11. 1644.

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FROM THE

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LONDON,

Printed for Iohn Wright in the Old-baily.

June, 11. 1644.



TO THE
Right Honourable
 my very good Lord,
THE SPEAKER OF THE
HOUSE OF PEERES,
 these present.

My Lord,



Coming before *His Majesty* this day seven night in the morning, I found the Towne under a very streight and close siege. The proceedings of the Enemy and of the Townes defence till my coming will be offered to your Lordships knowledge by the enclosed, being a copy of Colonnell

Wores I amall to that time.

At my arrivall in the bay, I found the Towne in very great want of victuals and Ammunition, though for their necessary subsistence, Capt. *Somerset* Capitaine of the *May Rose* (whom I had formerly sent hither for their encouragement, together with Cap. *Jordan* Capitaine of the *Expedition*, Cap. *Cocke* Capitaine of the *May Flower*, and Cap. *Tones* Capitaine of the *Anne and Joyce*) had spared them out of his ships *thirty five* barrele of Powder, and a good quantity of Bisket and other provisions, besides some victuals delivered

them out of Cap. Jorden and Cap. Jones. At my first coming I sent them on shore 38 barrels of Powder, and some proportion of match directed to them from the Committee for the West. I also contracted with a Sandwich man for nere 400 pound worth of corn, Malt, Butter, Cheese, &c. they not having left in the Towne two daies bread. The night before my coming the enemy had burnt nere twenty Barkes belonging to the Towne and some that were left they burnt the night following; the same night Cap. Pine was wounded and is since dead. On Saturday last I received a Letter from Captaine Ceely the Governor, supporting the necessities of the Towne, and praying a supply out of the ships stores, without which they could not longer maintaine the siege. I was fully informed of the gallantry of the defendants; the garrison consisting of about 100 men, who though they wanted shooes, stockings, clothes and pay, and had been kept on the line from the beginning of the siege without reliefe, yet were every of them resolved to hold out to the utmost point of time, and when all failed, to make way through the enemy with the sword. Their condition and courage had such operation on the Sea-men of my ship that they did unanimously consent to give them one fourth part of their next foure moneths bread, and to abate it proportionably out of every daies allowance, yet with hopes that the State would make it good again. They did also out of their owne little abilities spare them divers paires of boots, shooes, stockings, clothes, and some victuals, saved out of their former allowance.

On munday last I called a Councell of Warre aboard, and upon consultation with one of the Commanders sent from the Councell of War in Lyme, we resolved to spare them out of the ship twenty thousand waight of bread, besides the sea-mens seven thousand; a hogshed of Beefe, a hogshed of Porke, some shot, whereof part was sent on shore that day. The same day I received a Letter from the Commanders in Lime; desiring that some of the Sea-men might be sent to guard their Line, while others of their garrison sallied upon the enemy, and by our Councell of Warre we resolved to spare them 300 men. But instead of giving a salley the Towne received a storming that day from the enemy, at which time there were about 600 of the enemy, and but 8 of the Towne slaine, and a few wounded, amongst whom Col. Wren was shot in the belly, (but not mortally) and

and Lieutenant Colonell *Blake* had a slight hurt in his foot. Three Captaines were appointed to leade the forlorne hope, of which Captaine *Southerne* (who had on the Lord *Pauls* own armour) was slaine on the place, Captaine *Aston* was taken prisoner, and brought aboard the *James* on Tuesday morning, and the third Captaine escaped; the dead that then fell were left upon the place, the Enemy declaring that they would bury them and take in the Towne together. By this *Aston* I received notice that the besiegers were about 2500. Horse and Foote, that Prince *Maurice*, the Lord *Paul* and Sir *John Barclay* were in the leager.

The Garrison having by this successe received encouragement; they resolved to prosecute their former intention of sallying on the Enemy; they being much tired out with continuall duty, and the provisions spared out of the Ships, being not sufficient for many days supply the Souldiers spending about 2200 waight of Bread a day, and there being about 4000 Soules in the Towne.

In pursuance therefore of the former resolution, I sent the 300 men on shore with safety one Tuesday night, halfe of them being sent before hand into some small vessells that lay neare the Town. The same Tuesday I resolved before the time determined for sallying (which was to be communicated to us by a signe from Captaine *Davies* Fort) to send all our Ship-boates (filled with men) as also the Expedition and the Warwick frigate to ply to and againe on the East shore (there being severall vallies at *Charmouth* Bridgeport, and other places within five or six miles of *Lim*, that gave an opportunity of landing) hoping that by giving an Alarm there, I might draw off from about the Town the Enemies horse, (which the Townes-men most feared) and hapily some of their Foote, whereby the besieged might gaine the more advantage. Yesterday I accordingly sent out the Ships and Boats, and by an Alarme given, obtained that which was in our designe, foure or five Troops of horse, and some hundreds of foote giving a continuall attendance upon motion of our Boats. The Enemy it seems was upon observation of our Boates, mistaken in our purposes, conceiving that our Boats had drawn off some of the Garrison, intending to land them on the East-shore, for the getting of provision into the Town, or for falling upon their Reire. Hereby supposing the Towne to be weakned, they resolved upon another storming, which began yesterday

about foure of the clock nere to the time agreed on for Gallies. They made three assaults, and did twice make an orderly retreat. The third time they came on with a much bravery and resolution on as could be in Souldiers, which was as gallantly executed by the Towne-men. The fight was continued with extreme violence from about 6 of the clock at night for two houres, there being a continued volley of great shot and small shot.

The issue was, their fell of the enemy (by computation of some that came this day aboard) 400. and of the Garrison there was stricken and hurt only 6 or 7 men. The last night and this morning there is in the Towne a more then ordinary silence. Thus have I represented to your Lordship the state of this Towne, hoping that some speedy course will be taken for their reliefe. Their fidelity and courage God hath much honoured, and it is pittie the delay of supply should hazard the least blunting of their resolution. There be men of very considerable reputation in the Towne, who will be able (if freed from this siege) to serve the state, by raising a good body of men in these parts. If *time* be lost, it will have a very ill influence, the inclination of these parts depending on the success of that Towne, which the Enemy values not so much for it self as for the men that are in it, who if at liberty, will quickly get a strength together, which the Country will be well disposed to close withall. It will be an act very worthy the House of Parliament to hasten towards them some Forces by Land, and some victualls and Ammunition by Sea; that such pretious and distressed spirits may not become a prey to Famine, or to a cruell Enemy. So desiring your Lordship to communicate this to the House of Lords together with a tender of my humble service I commend your Lordship, and all your counsellors to the blessing of Heaven resting,

From aboard His Majesties Ship the

James at an Anchor before Lame.

Regis, 30 May 1644.

Your Lordships humble servant,

WAR WICK.



A true and perfect Diurnall of all
 Passages since Colonell *Weres* comming to
 the Towne of Lyme Regis.

Febr. 27.

22

Colonell *Weres* landed at Lyme Regis.
 All his Forces, with the Garrison of the Towne, were
 drawne forth on Lyme-hill, from whence a party was sent
 to Studcombe-house, and Axmouth, under the command of
 Captaine *Peyro*, to secure those places.

23

Colonell *Weres* with his Officers and 300 foot advanced to Stud-
 combe-house, with a resolution to have fallen upon Colleton,
 but was commanded backe by the Governour of Lyme, as by his
 Letters will appeare.

March 3.

Captaine *Townsend* drew out by command of the Councell of
 VVarre 100 Firelocks, and fell upon Bridport, where he surprized
 130 horse, and met with his Colonell and Captaine *Pineat* Chid-
 wick hill, where they were with horse and foot to secure his re-
 treat.

4

Severall Messengers came out of Devonshire to informe that the
 Country was in Armes, and desired assistance from the Councell of
 warre at Lyme, of horse and ammunition, which by a generall con-
 sent was granted unto them, Major *Buster* being commander in
 chiefe, and some other Captains sent wkh him; they advanced to
 Hemlock, where they were set upon by Major *Carr*, who lost his
 life, and divers of his Souldiers.

The

5. 6.

The enemy drew out of their Garrison of Arminster, and Collington, Chard, Exon, Taunton, and Bridgewater, what forces they could to fall on Hemlock.

9

Colonell *Vare* to divert their besieging of Hemlock, fell upon Collington with 300 men, and tooke that Towne, 300 Armes, 250 prisoners, all their Magazine, three Colours, 12 Drums, beside divers prisoners of note, and was advancing to the reliefe of Hemlock, but met with the ill news of his Officers being surprized before, which hindred his resolution and caused him to retreat to Studcombe-house againe, where he continued till Aprill 20. every day or night having an alarme or fight with the enemy; and was called three times to give assistance to the Towne of Lyme-Regis, and to have fallen upon a quarter of the enemy: Which was accordingly performed through tedious marches by him and his souldiers, though little use made of them when they came there, which was no small discouragement to the Souldiers.

April. 20.

Our Scouts discerned the enemy on Rode-hill, which in the evening advanced towards Uplyme-hill, and there stood all the night, onely a party came downe, beset Hay and Coly-house, in so much that our men were inforced to retreat unto the Towne of Lyme-Regis.

21

The enemy approached within Pistoll-shot of our Line, and played their great and small shot very hot, though but to little purpose. This day Colonell *Vare* commanded the major part of his officers and souldiers from Studcombe-house, whose passage proved very difficult and dangerous; a party of the enemies foot and horse skirmishing with them, it made their passage good without the losse of any, onely some men wounded. This night the enemy raised a battery westward, which did much annoy us. From thence came many great shot, insomuch that Captaine *Marsh* was beaten out of his Fort, and he himselfe afterwards slaine. This evening we sent to Poole to acquaint them with our sad condition. This day Studcombe-house was taken, when we left it there was no want of any thing, and thought it astenable as the Towne of Lyme, and why Captaine *Peyto* should surrender it upon such sleight termes is admired.

We

We sallied out, split one of their guns, killed to the number of 100. tooke 30. prisoners, one Lieutenant one Ensigne. Here G. Bille was kild (an Enemie) Captaine Wood Commander of the forlorne hope was wounded: We retreated with small losse, but were enforced to leave their guns behind us. This night a battery was raised in Coly meadow.

This day the enemy stormed with Ordnance, did little hurt; This day also two Dunkirk men of Warre looked on us; This day our ship was betrayed, wherein we lost prisoners of some worth. Very little powder by this time left; Some comfort by shipping.

From Coly worke came Granadoes into the Towne which did little hurt: This night they raised another worke on the East, which beate downe Captaine Novell's Fort, and did some hurt to the Towne.

This morning the enemy offered to storme us, but their souldiers had no minde to such sport, neverthelesse they bestowed powder and shot freely on us, in so much as their firing seemed a continual blaze, which was discovered by Captaine Semaster and Captaine Jones, then of Portland point, who made all possible speede to relieve us. The sight of these two ships begat new life in our almost tyred souldiers; they supplied us with powder, match, and bullet, and other provisions which wee much wanted. This day the enemies Ordnance played very hot.

These ships landed to serve us 100. men: The enemy seemed not at all to be daunted, but fired very hot, and made their approach very neare our line: They shot fire arrowes, which did not hurt nor affright any.

This day with the bold Seamen and others we sallied out once more, laid hold of their Ordnance, spoyled one, killed many of the enemy, and retreated with some losse. Major Harrington slaine by one of our owne men, yet the losse on the enemies part was so great, that the water which served the Toyne was turned into blood.

They gave us a very thundring Alarm in the morning, and now they began to make their Fort royall against C. Davies Fort.

May 1. 4. 5

The Enemy lay very silent, but the weather tempestuous in so much that we doubted the safety of our shipping.

6

The Enemy lay very silent, but in the Evening stormed us very gallantly, to the losse on their partie of at least 100 men or more. In this storme they lost Col. *Blemer*, and as farre as we can heare Col. *Strangwaies*, four Captaines, Cap. *Paulet*, Cap. *Mollinens* taken, the Enemy was silent the rest of the night

7

This day the Enemy sent to demand the body of Colonel *Blemer* and desired liberty to fetch off their dead, which was accordingly granted and put in execution, this took up most part of the day, so that there was scarce a stroke on either side till night, and the night proved very silent.

8

They drew their Army into two bodies, which kept us in perpetuall Alarmes all the afternoone and the night. This day also came in C. *Cock* with his ship which afforded us some relief both with men and provision. This Evening C. *Paulet* dyed with the wound that he received in storming.

9

This day proved as silent, as the weather, very quiet, only in the afternoone the Ordinance thundred on both sides, and our small shot rattled bravely.

10

This day the Enemy began to make their approaches very neare our lyne in the Westerne part of the Towne, but Lieutenant Col. *Blas* sent out a partie in the night which made them remove furth off.

11

This morning came good relief, 300 men by shipping sent by Sir William *Waller* from *Portsmouth*, and now the Enemy spent their great shot very free upon all quarters especially upon the boats which landed any friends and upon C. *Davies* Fort, in so much that his Gunner and two other men were slaine with a great shot, but the Captaine (who hath behaved himself ever gallantly) nor any of his Souldiers were any thing at all daunted therewith.

12

This day the Enemy shot in many fire balls, which did no hurt at all. This day was C. *Jones* dispatche to *Portsmouth* with Letters to Sir William *Waller* and others to the Committee. This day the Enemy began two strong Batteries very neare our lyne on the

the

the West, and two more we raised against them which did somewhat trouble them.

This day we playd on their Batteries with our Ordnance very hot, did some mischief, small shot railed on both sides, with little losse on our part. 13

This day the enemy was very silent: in the afternoon we sent out a party for discovery, which roused them: we found their quarters strongly manned: and about midnight another partee was sent upon a contrary quarter, which did some execution upon them, and retreated without losse. 14

This day we received a Culvering cut from Captaine *Semaster* which we planted in one of our new batteries. 15

The enemy endeavoured to make up their breaches by our Ordnance, but could not, being continually battered. May 16.

This day the Ordnance we thought drawne off, began to speak, which had not spoke in 3. dayes. This night they made a line in opposition to ours North-ward. These two dayes they played their Ordnance very thick upon the Cobb. 17

This day wee sallied out and entred their Fort royall, split their gunne, tooke 20. prisoners, beate them home to their grand Quarter, and returned with little losse. In the evening they plaid hot againe upon the Cobb, and continued making up of their Trenches. 18

This day there was a cessation of arms for the space of an houre, for the fetching off three which were lost in the sally. Our Ordnance slew many at their grand Quarter. This night proved very silent. 19

This morning the enemy came by Colonell *Blakes* quarter, & approached neare the Cobb, in such sort that they tooke off a ships colours from her sterne, and afterwards fetched two horses close to a partee that was sent out to rescue them. 20

This day the enemy intrenched themselves on the West part of the Towne neare the Seaside, shot many great shots into the Cobb. This night a halfe moone breast was raised against Captaine *Gatch* his Fort, and approached neare that part of the line. 21

22

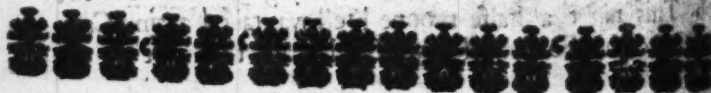
This day a partee of the enemies tooke faced the Cobb, and after some few shots entred it, but were againe beaten out of it by a partee of ours which issued out. Another partee at the same time issuing out, entred one of their workes, but could not keepe it, by reason of the evening approaching, retreated with small loss, only Captaine *Pyne* (who hath ever behaved himselfe very well) was dangerously wounded. This evening proved very silent, by reason of their fetching out such things as were in the ships which they that evening had burnt.

23

This day the Earle of Warwicke arrived here, which was a great encouragement to our souldiers. This evening the Governor and Lieutenant Colonell *Blake* were sent aboard to confer with his Lordship.



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The King is quite fled:
By Waller hee's pursued.
Lord Generall gone Westward,
That Time be relieved.
Takesbury is taken.
Yorke Walls are well shaken.

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Numb. 58.

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

*K. 100
London
with King*

From Tuesday the 4 of June, to Tuesday the 11. of June. 1644.

I Began the last weeks Intelligence, in letting you know, that his Majesty had made an Agreement with the Irish Rebels at Oxford, and that they had received their Dispatch, and were gone from Oxford towards Ireland with great joy and content; but (as I then told you, so I doe now againe) his Majesty and his Councell would not permit the Agents for the miserable Protestants in Ireland, so much as know what he had condiscended unto; and indeed, he thrives accordingly, for the Earle of Essex came with such power against him, that his Majesty was glad to flye after the Irish Rebels, and leave Oxford in a distracted condition: Monday the third of June, about twelve at night, he was glad to horse and away; thirty Coaches with luggage and Baggages, accompanying his Majesty; some of those the Creatures crying out, that they had left their Jewels behinde them for haste; the next day they got to Burford, and refreshed himselfe, and his Souldiers and Ladies there for two houres; but Sir William Waller comming at the same time to Whitney, five miles distant, gave them an Alarum, they all cryed, horse, and away; and his Majesty with his Sword, rid about all the Towne, to hasten his men away; many of whom were more willing to come to the Earle of Essex, then to serve the King any longer: five Trumpeters came at one time from the Kings Army, to serve the Earle of Essex. What hath happed since his Ma-

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jesties



jesties flying from *Burford*, and whether he tooke *Worcester* way, or *Ci-
ester* way, and so to *Bristol*; you shall know before you come to the end
of this weeks Intelligence.

The forlorne condition of the Enemy, hath had good operation on the
Councils of the Parliament and City; for an Ordinance of Parliament is
passed already, for the enabling Colonell *Browne*, (that hath done excellent
service, both in suppressing the Rebellion in *Kent*, and at the Battaille
neere *Alesford*, where Sir *Ralph Hopton* received such a Defeate, as he
could never since recover himselfe) to Command in Chiefe as Major Ge-
nerall of the Forces, raised and to be raised for the reducing of *Oxford*,
Wallingford, *Greenland House*, and *Banbury*, and all other forces raised
for the settling in peace, the Counties of *Oxford*, *Berks* and *Buckingham*,
with power to use and exercise Martiall Law, according to the Rules put
forth by his Excellency the Earle of *Essex*.

Captaine *Temple*, who did lately such brave service at *Islip*, is Com-
manded away with his Troope, consisting of one hundred Horse, also a
hundred Dragoones out of *Kent*, a hundred Horse from *Surrey*, a hundred
Horse from *Alesbury*, two hundred Horse and Dragoones out of *Sussex*,
and a Regiment of Horse, and two of Foote out of the City; besides the
Middlesex Troope, and foure hundred Foote from *Windsor*, already be-
fore *Greenland House*, who have eight hundred horse and foote, come to
their assistance already from the Counties; so willing is, the Country to
rise and give Assistance, to keepe in these plundering Cavaliers.

Whilst the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Will. Waller* are pursuing the enemy,
and driving them out of the field to their hold; Major Generall *Browne*
(with Gods assistance) will easily with these forces, and help of the wil-
ling Country men, keepe these Garrisons of *Oxford*, and the rest from an-
noying of the Country, if in case he do not speedily reduce them.

Hampshire hath shewed a good example, they have agreed amongst
themselves to maintaine Colonell *Nortons* Regiment of horse, and a Regi-
ment of foot; besides the assistance of the Country to besiege *Basing*-
house, which is begun already, and Colonell *Norton* hath possessed him-
selfe of the Town of *Basing*, and seized on many cattell, and much Corn,
which the Marquise of *Winchester* (a grand Papist, but yet one whom his
Majestie employes for the good of the Protestant Religion) had provided,
to be sent to him at the Garrison of *Basing* house.

I should have told you of the miserable end of Sir *Charles Blunt* Co-
lonell, a great Papist (also employed by his Majestie for the good of the
Protestant Religion) who was pistold by one Captaine *Langston*, one of
his own Captains, employed under him at *Greenland house*, a just judge-
ment.

ment of God on this wretch, for in time of Peace, he murdered a Gentleman in his own house; his actions are so notorious, that the naming of him is sufficient.

There was lately taken prisoner neere *Islip*, one Colonell Sir *William Spenser*, a great Papist, but yet employed by his Majesty for the good of the Protestant Religion, who (together with Sir *John Fortescue* taken by Captaine *Temple* (another Papist employed by his Majestie to settle the Protestant Religion) are both kept in strict custody.

We could tell you, that the Bishop of *Armagh, Raphoe*, and five more such wretches would have perswaded the consciences of some Protestants, that came out of *Ireland* to *Oxford* to comply with the Propositions of the Irish Rebels, for they need not doubt, but it would tend to the good of the Protestant Religion.

The peace his Majesty hath concluded with the Irish Rebels, and the sending for them over hither to cut the Protestants throats, no doubt is for the good of the Protestant Religion.

You shall in the next place see what opinion other Nations have of his Majesty, and the game he playes for the good of the Protestant Religion, which appears by a Letter from Colonell *Morley* to the Parliament dated at *Arundell*, *June* the fifth, who informes them to this purpose.

That in the *Dunkirke* ship taken neere *Arundell*, there were many Popish and superstitious pictures found therein, and amongst the rest there was one picture of the Virgin *Mary*, and under that the Pope; on the right hand of the Pope is figured the King of *England* with all his Cavaliers standing about him; and on the left hand the Queen, with the Ladies, and other of her faction by her, standing in this posture. The King offers his Scepter to the Queen, but she refusing it, seemes to direct him to deliver it to the Pope, which he does accordingly.

Now you heare the Relation, the construction is left to your selves: It is sent for up, and is to be set upon the Exchange, for the credit of the Malignants.

It pleases God so to prosper the Parliament, and their forces, and to possesse the enemy with such a fear, that (seeing he is driven so farre off), they have ordered to keepe the Assizes in all the Counties in the power of the Parliament, and to that end, have ordered the Commissionets of the great Seale, to give the oath to such new Sheriffs as are not yet sworne, and that the Officers, and Attorneys in the severall Courts do take notice to prepare their Causes for Triall, and one maine Cause thereof, is to bring down Trialls against such Tenants, as will not pay their Landlords rents, nor the Tithes to the Ministers, and others to whom they are due, alledging here is no Law to compell them.

From *Line* by Letters, of *May* the 30. and *June* the first
 It is certified, that that Town hath defended it selfe bravely,
 and when they were driven lately to two dayes victuals, not
 knowing which way to be relieved, they took a resolution to
 breake through the enemy, and rather die like men, then live
 like slaves under those Atheists, and Tyrants that oppose
 them. But it pleased God, to send the Earle of *Warwicke* unto
 them in that great steight, who supplied them with a good
 quantity of bread, Fish, Powder, Match, Bullet, &c. and
 sent 300. Sea men, and 400. pounds worth of Corne, which
 my Lord tooke up of his own purse, to save that poore
 Town, who stood out so bravely against the enemy, and es-
 pecially in opposition to the bloody Irish (his Majesties most
 beloved Subjects) in action against the Towne: and the va-
 liant Sea men that went a shore being eye witnesses of their
 valour, and of the great extremities they were in, for want of
 cloathes, stockings, and shooes, when they came on board a-
 gaine sent the poor Souldiers, what Boots, Shooes, and stock-
 ings they could spare, and also spared them, out of their own
 daily allowance of provisions what they could with conve-
 nience, and what they had saved as an overplus of their for-
 mer Provisions, that they sent unto them, and also 300. of
 them at the Command of the Earle of *Warwicke*, went freely
 into the Town to their assistance, who were designed to keep
 the Line, while 600. of the Town sallied out; but the enemy
 with great courage stormed the Town, at the same time they
 intended to make a Sallie, and were as bravely received by
 the Towne, and beaten off with the losse of neere 4. hun-
 dred men slain on the place, and about eight of the Townes-
 men lost; on the Enemies side of note was slaine the Tuesday
 before, Captaine *Southerne*, who had on him the Lord *Pen-
 less* Armour, Captaine *Ashton* taken prisoner, and sent aboard
 the Ship: At this instant, when they stormed the Towne
 the last time, when so many were slaine, the Earle of *Warwick*
 sent

sent out long boats, foure or five miles below the Towne, towards *Bidport*, as if he would have landed them there; and thereby drew off a great part of the Enemies horse and foote, to attend their pretended landing, whereby the defendants might the more easily make good the Towne. The women of the Towne filled the Bandeleeres with powder, whilst the Souldiers fought; and one woman discharged a Musquet sixteene times in the face of the Enemy.

And though severall women had their armes shot off with Chaine shot, yet the rest of the women continued in assisting those that made up the works which the Enemy battered downe.

And another thing observable is, that Captaine *Davies*, who maintained the Fort neere the Cub, had but foure shot apiece round to the Sacres he had at the beginning of the storme, and shot continually, and yet had fourteene round when the storme ended; which was thus, The Enemy shot Sacre shot against his Worke, and so he made use of the Bullets the Enemy sent him.

Certain newes came this day to the Parliament, that his Excellency is marched towards *Salisbury*, and so into the West to relieve *Lime*, which his Excellencie writes by Letters of the sixth and seventh of *June* shall be the thing he will attend with all expedition.

N n

His

His Majestie is fled to *Worcester* with his horse and Dragoones, and those poor tired foot he had (which for haste marched eighteen miles in one day, certainly they were all Irish) are gone towards *Herefordshire*: if Colonell *Massey* do not salute them by the way.

For on the fifth of *June* he became Master of *Tewkesbury*, and therein after a slender dispute, he took Lieutenant Colonell *Mynne*, and divers prisoners, kild a Quarter Master Generall to that Runnegadoe, faithlesse *William Vavasor*, and also kiled Colonell *Godfrey* a Papist, another of his Majesties creatures, imployed for the good of the Protestant Religion.

He also tooke there eighteen barrells of Powder, three hundred new Pikes, besides Armes.

Sir *William Waller* is marched to joyne with Colonell *Massey*, and resolves to take in *Shudley Castle*, when Sir *William Waller* Quartered at *Stow* in the old, his Majesty Quartered on *Wednesday* night in the vale of *Evesham*, at Doctor *Temples* house, but durst not goe to bed that night, (as those of that house informe Sir *William Waller*) for feare of being surpris'd by Sir *William Wallers* horse, who that night fell upon their Quarters, and tooke a French Major, and sixty horse, and gave them an Alarum to the purpose.

A Garrison is left in *Tewkesbury*, which is of great advantage, considering it is a passage over *Severne*, besides

sides, it enlarges the Quarters of Colonell Massey.

Some out of those parts thinke his Majestie will rather endeavour to goe to *Hereford* and so to *Bristol*, then adventure to go to Prince *Rupert*, whom the Ladies cry out on for leaving them in time of need.

Prince *Rupert*. it is hoped will be met withall in a short time, though that brave and most deserving County of *Lancashire* bee awhile distressed: If the Townes of *Manchester*, *Warrington*, and *Lancaster*, and *Liverpoole*, have but provisions of Victuals for twenty dayes, for Men, Armes, and Ammunition, they have enough, they need not doubt of reliefe from *York*.

For it is certified from the Leaguer before *Yorke*, by Letters dated the seventh of *June*, that on Thursday the Suburbs of the City of *Yorke* was stormed in foure severall places, and all tooke successe, even to the Mannour house, where on Saint *Maries* Tower some great Ordnance are planted within forty yards of the City. The like at *Monke Barre*, and at *Gilligate*, and also a battery raised against *Wombgate Bar*, on the middle Winde Mill, and part of the walls, and *Clifords Tower* is beaten down: also it is certified, we have taken the hill with out *Skeldergate* posterne, about sixscore yards from

from the wall, which commands on this side the River, a great part of the City, the enemy burnes severall parts of the Towne to make it more tenable, our Souldiers are incensed, for at the worke without the said posterne gate of an hundred and fourty Souldiers in it, the Scotch forces that took the same, gave quarter but to thirty five.

The last Summons was conceived would be given them on Friday or Saturday last : By this time in all probability the businesse is ended one way or other.

I must not omit to give the *Essex*, and *Suffolk* men, and the rest of the foote Associate soldiers their due; for the enemy in the Towne sallied out furiously against them, but were beate in to the purpose, and they make good the Suburbs at the Bar, and while they fought wjth the enemy, our other forces gained another worke.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

Handwritten text in a script, possibly Tamil, running vertically along the left edge of the page. The text is partially obscured by a dark vertical band.

A

H

MERLINVS ²⁷
ANGLICVS
JVNIOR:

The *English Merlin* revived;

OR,

His prediction upon the affaires of
the ENGLISH Common-wealth, and
of all or most Kingdomes of Christendome
this present Yeare, 1644.

BY W. Lillie

Published according to Order.

June 12th LONDON,

Printed by R. W. for T. V. and are to be sold by I. S. in
Little Britaine. 1644.

To the Reader.

IN Christmas last past, I was intreated by some friends to write my judgement upon this yeares Actions, 1644. the 6. of January I finished it; since which time divers Coppies have been obtained from me; insomuch, that fearing some Copy might surreptitiously be printed: I have given leave to a Friend for this Impression. And whereas there are some months elapsed since its first writing, they that have any of my former Copies may perceive thereby, whether any materiall accidents have happened, as by me predicted, and then expect the same verity from the succeeding Months, sith all the judgement was drawne from the same fountaine of Learning. If this finde entertainment, thou mayest expect my Astrologicall Treatise of the ninth lesser Conjunction of *Saturne* and *Jupiter* 1642. 1643. which hitherto is not handled to any purpose by any man, or to the credit of Astrology; I am therein copious, and deliver to the world what I conceive of these our domestique Wars; when we may expect an end of them; what I conceive of most Nations of Europe; there I handle the effects of the remainder of influence of the last Comet in 1618. the cause of these Wars from the heavenly Constellations, as also the nine Conjunctions of *Saturne* and *Jupiter* in the watery Trygon, beginning in the time of *Henry* the sixth; as also the Conjunction of *Saturne* and *Jupiter* upon entrance of the fiery Trygon 1603. and since: If that Tractate please, I have also almost finished, *The Government of the World by the seven Planetary Angels under the severall Trygonicall Revolutions of Saturne and Jupiter*, even to this yeare, from the beginning of the world. If any Astrologer of this or any other Nation, care at any judgement in th: subsequent Discourse. I offer to maintaine against one or all the verity thereof, according to the fundamentals of Astrology: and I shall take it as an especial favour but to receive th: precise dayes of the month of any materiall accident from any well wishing Gentleman or Souldier; the better to rectifie my judgement another time: And I desire all English and Scottish generous Spirits to passe by the errors and failings of this maiden Worke (for errorr there will be) so shall you engage *Willelme Merline*, who is not ashamed that his name is

William Lilly.

*At the steeple Flower de Luce gate
Somerset House, 1644.*

To any, or every man.

I Desire to be modestly and Christianly censured for writing this subsequent discourse: Non quod falsa hominum iudicia verear, sed ne quis nimium credulus obloquentium dictis ignorans de nobis scaturit: omnia enim quae scire unquam professus sum, cum Deo, & sine injuria fidei nostrae Christianae scio, & iudicatus sum; licet ex multis paucissimi queant inveniri, qui mysteria occultarum influentiarum Coelestium intelligant.

Its far from my thoughts that there's any binding or inevitable necessity in what I predict by the radiation of heavenly bodies; the stars have no such unlimited lawes, they are bounded, and give light to us or some small glimpses of the great affaires God intends upon earth, but if we rely on our judgement, without relation to the immediate rule and direction of his eternall providence, alas, how soone of wise men we become errant fooles and Ideots: I have ever loathed farall necessity, supposed by Plotinus to be maintained by Ptolomey; certainly I do not remember any Astrologicall, writer either Arabian, Greek, Jew, or Latine that maintaines such an Atheisticall opinion. God created the heavens, Sun, Moone, fixed stars for the benefit of man, and his own glory: If the Heathens, the Caldeans, Syrians, or some absurd Indians, and Egyptians abused this knowledge, and these Celestiall creatures; shall we Christians suffer, which modestly use, but no way abuse either the Planets or their influence. We use the light of the Sun beames, we make the Sun no God, no incense do we offer; the Moone lights our wandrings in the night, and we are thankesfull to God for it; by helpe of fixed stars we saile and performe many admirable secrets: By day I understand knowledge, by night ignorance: Jacob understood by the Sun himselfe, being Master of the Family, by the Moone his wife; by the 11. fixed stars a multitude, &c. This learning is ancient, and hath had society with Kings; its now despicable, it hath few favourers, and as few that understand it. I desire to be judged by those that apprehend something in Astrology, and not by the censorious criticall Asses, that beleevs no influence, scarce a heaven: It was folly in me to judge of any science, I was never acquainted with; hee's as much foole as Phormio that censures my labour, and knowes not what I write of, nor the principles of that Art from which I draw my judgement; I beleevs God rules all by his divine Providence, and that the Stars by his permission are instruments whereby many contingent events may be foreseene as well in the generall accidents of the world as in particular mens fates, yet so, as,

Astra nullum imperium in mentes eorum habent, qui spiritu ambulant confidente dominum Jesum Christum omnia in sua potestate habentem,

Booker The discourse hath already found some friends, it must now expect as many enemies; I care not, I have avoided almost the termes of Art, that it might appear plaine and easie to the meanest; some things in my Copy the Licenser expunged, its thereby lesse significant: I am contented; it might have appeared in better termes four moneths sooner, had I intended to print it. I conclude with that of Saint Augustine, Deus regit inferiora per superiora: The Planets and Stars are ministers not masters: Expect not that all accidents shall precisely happen to a day or a weeke, do not we first fit the ground, then sow, and after some expiration of time gather a crop: its impossible for the weaknesse of man at all times to hit the certaine day, or weeke of many accidents, sometimes we do, or very near, but not constantly: God keepes and reserves to himselfe many secrets, of which man hath no knowledge; he alters and changes times, seasons, and what he pleaseth, When, and where he will, so that we predict nothing but With this limitation, the hand of Almighty God considered or not impeding or preventing nature, for in his alone breath is all learning, science, knowledge, power and dominion for ever and ever.

To whom, &c.

W. L.

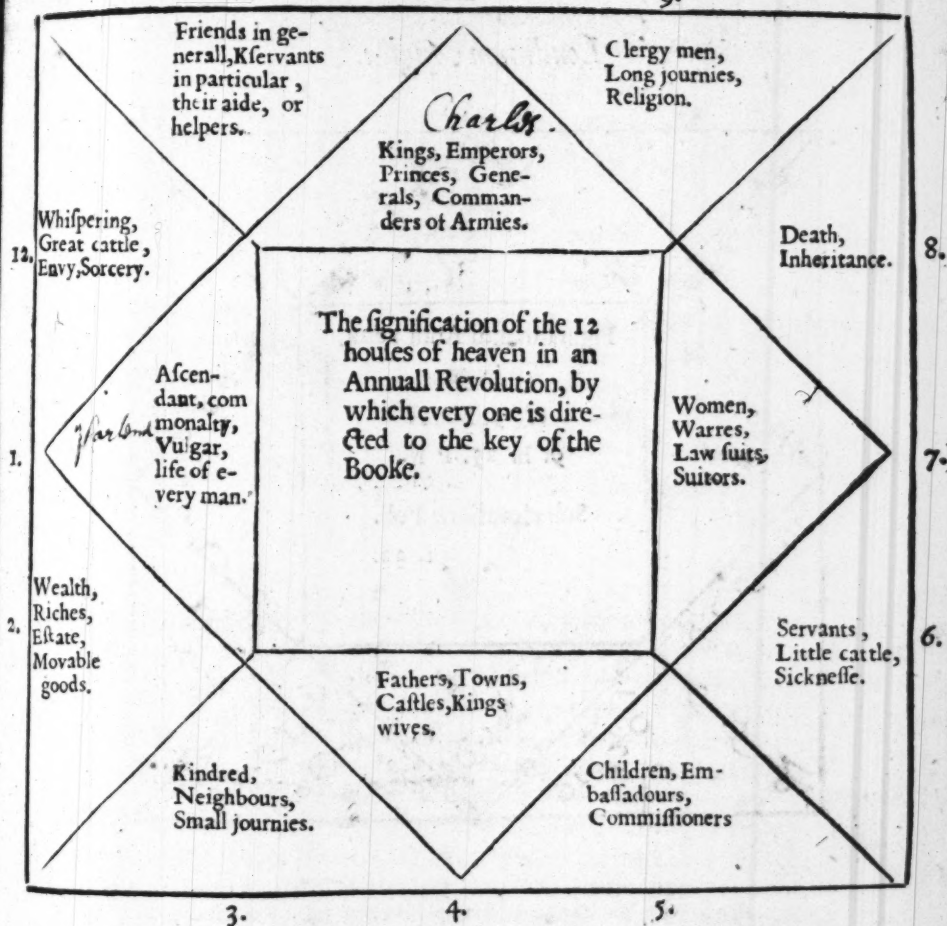
In some Copies the Reader is desired to correct the Errata following: pag. 7. line 23. read a double, p. 7. 7. significator, p. 10. l. 10. r. si Mars. p. 10. l. 19. r. ga liap. 11. l. 35. r. fifth house, p. 12. l. 14. r. for Uno r. two, p. 13. l. 19. r. Chelz, p. 15. l. 10. for her r. the ir, p. 17. l. 9. r. martiana l. 22. r. expoliare p. 20. l. 57. leave out as.

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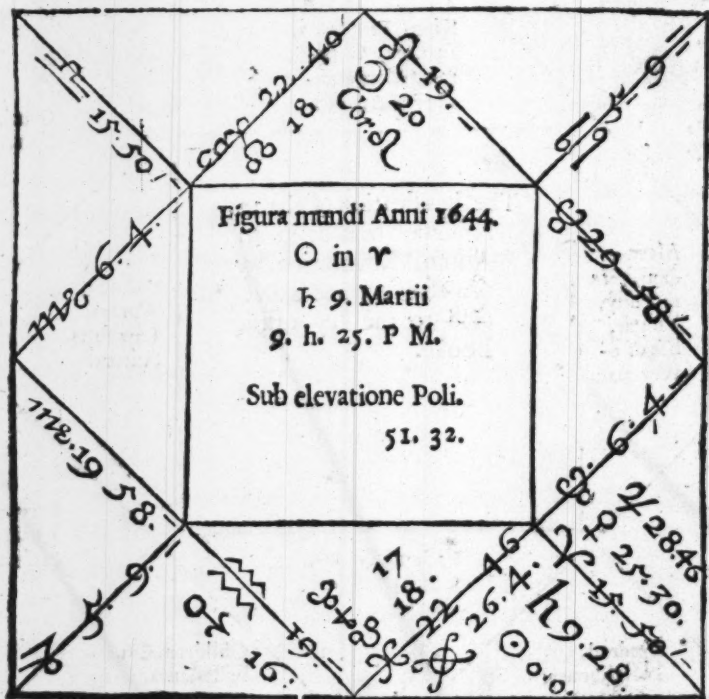
When I speake of the tenth house, I intend somewhat of Kings, or persons represented by that house, which is also called *Medium Calio*, the mid heaven : When mention is made of the first house, Ascendant or Horoscope, I intend the Commonalty in generall.

In istu radii exurgunt aquora, & pulvis veterum renovabitur.

Dic : Et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

Pensa libra ex obliquo pendebunt, donec aries recurva cornua supponat.

Londinum Angliæ.





THE
ACCIDENTS BELONGING
In particular to ENGLAND, and generally
to many Countreys of *Europe*:

Astrologically handled for this present year 1644.

BY W.L.



Intermedle not with discourfing (*in quo orbe magno sumus*) or what Signe or Planet doth governe in that great Orbe, nor who is Divisor, or what Signe is profectiōall of every Orbe; a taske too hard, and not to be performed in a Pamphlet: Nor doe I speake any thing in this Discourse of the Conjunction of (a) *Saturne* and *Jupiter* 1643. nor of any precedent Eclipse, either *Solar* or *Lunar*; nor of the influence of the last Comet we beheld in 1618. which is now strongly in operation in all or most places of this Kingdome; I hold my selfe meerely to the Ingresse of the Sun into the first point of *Aries*, and according to that little knowledge I have, send out into the world these ensuing lines.

Seeing fixed Signes possesse the Angles of the figure, at the time of the Sun his entrance into the *Ram*, I hold the positure of heaven erected for that moment of time sufficient whereupon to ground my succeeding judgment for the whole yeare, I am warranted in so doing by *Guido Bonatus*, fol. 527. *Quando Sol intrat Arietem, si ascendens*

a) *Permutatio Saturni & Iovis de triplicitate in triplicitatem, mutationem significat regnum & scolarum, B-scuid. fol. 15.*

The permutation of *Saturne* and *Jupiter* out of one triplicity into another, signifies a change of Kingdomes and Sects.

ascendens est signum fixum, illa revolutio continet in se omnes quartas illius anni : This is also the opinion of some that have Commented upon *Ptolomey* ; but *Ptolomey* himselfe who meddled not with this manner of judgement, gave direction to erect foure Scheames for every yeare, for discovery of the seasons of the yeare, which hee principally intended ; viz. one Figure for the Vernall quarter upon the Sunne his entrance of *Aries* : the second, upon the Sunnes ingresse into *Cancer* : the third, upon the Sunnes entrance into *Libra* ; the fourth, when he entred *Capricorne* : the former words speake this English ; When the Sunne enters *Aries*, if the Signe ascending be fixed, that onely Revolution will serve to judge all the Quarters of the yeare by ; of this opinion is *Leupoldus* in *Libro de Revolutionibus* ; *Si ascendens in revolutione est fixum sufficit pro anno toto figura quam fecisti : si est commune fac duas, si est mobile fac quatuor* : If the ascendent in a revolution be fixed, it sufficeth for the whole yeare ; if common, erect two figures, if moveable, make foure : I conceive more might naturally be deduced from the former position, then is fit to be publicly knowne to the world.

If the rules of Astrology faile me not, or God Almighty cloud not my understanding, and so make me uncapable of judgement, some more then ordinary action and accidents shall this yeare happen in our Clymate, which is England ; and in our neereft adjoyning neighbour Countreies, which are Scotland, Ireland, France, Denmarke, the United (perhaps disjoyned) Provinces, as also in the Dominions of his Majesty of Spaine, in Flanders, and Brabant : The Celestiall Scheame it selfe is very strange, all the Angles being fixed, the Moone and *Mars* in fixed signes ; the Sunne, *Saturnus*, *Venus* and *Iupiter* being all in the Equinoctiall and Cardinall signe *Aries* the ascendant of England, as if by this their position they pointed out wee should have action enough, and variety of it, &c. onely *Mercury* the father of lyes and untruths, and scandalous Pamphlets is in a Common signe, as if he intended all this whole yeare to vex us with flying reports, continuall feares, false alarums, untoward speeches, contradictory newes, lying messengers, and cozening Accomptants, Receivers, Treasurers, and the like, &c.

There doth succeed this ingresse of the Sun, two Conjunctions of
Mars

Mars with *Saturne* and *Jupiter* commonly called lesser Conjunctions; of both which I may occasionally speake, for in their seasons they will instrumentally put forward the actions decreed by Almighty God for this year. At the time of the Sun's ingresse, I finde the Moone in the tenth house seperated from an opposition of *Mars*; *Accidunt rixæ, mali rumores, dolores, mortes, effusiones sanguinis, falsa testimonia*: Bethem Apho. 37. The Moone seperated from *Mars*, we heare of brangling, ill rumours, sadnesse, death, the effusion of blood, false witnesses; she then applies to a trine aspect of *Venus* and *Jupiter*, which in the starry language tels us, that from *Christmas* untill our *Lady* day, there will be many hot skirmishes, and much bloodshed in those unseasonable times of the year, and principally in the (c) North West parts of this Kingdom.

And these stirring actions may be produced, by reason that *Saturne* and *Mars* the 12. of *January* come to a Quadrate aspect, and *Mars* and *Jupiter* on the sixt of *February*: Now if these Quadrate aspects of the three superiors, do in these dirty times stirre up any hostility or action, what will they do about the latter end of *May*, in *June*, and *July*, when they meet in Conjunction? at those times expect to heare of war, slaughter of men, division, Towns besieged, some taken, some plundered, some relieved, &c.

The precedent aspects being in Cardinall signes, shew the actions of this winter to be greater then may easily be conceived, and of greater (d) concernment then at present we imagine: yet after some stormes the deflection of the Moone from a malignant Planet and aspect, to a milde fortune by a benigne trine, tels us of a seeming probability or willingness to Accomodation of peace (e).

And yet I cannot finde it more then a likelihood of Unity, for the Proposer hereof, or Proposers, the Articles, propositions or the like, which either are or shall be framed, and are signified by *Venus*, and *Jupiter*, who behold the tenth house with trine aspect, which is of love and affection: but I say, for as much as neither *Venus* or *Jupiter* do behold the ascendant, which hath signification of the publique State.

I frame this Conjecture, that not onely they that shall frame these propositions, but the (f) Articles themselves shall have more in them, which may advance the desires of those signified by *Assiduum Calor*, then the good of the people signified by the ascend.

(c) This was fulfilled by the defeat the two brave Knights, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Sir William Brereton gave to the Irish in the North West of this Kingdom.

(d) This I conceive fulfilled by the access of the Scottish Army.

(e) I thinke it was in February a Message came of peace.

(f) It was so conceived, by many.

So

(g) We have found
it too true.

So that although in *February, March, April, and May*, and part of *June*, some Propositions or overtures for a peace or Treaty may be made, yet without a miracle all Treaties end in (g) smoake and vapour; for it may be feared the Treaty is brought on to protract time, by those that are signified by the tenth house, that wish not well to the government of this Kingdom, they having hopes of forces from *Ireland* in *April* and *May*, and from *France* in *July* and other seasons, also from *Denmarke* ayde is expected, and from another Prince of lesser fame and quality, and therefore not so much mistrusted.

(h) We all know
what distractions
here was with the
Independants, &c.
(i) Sir Greenfield
and others make
this good.

If any beliefe or Credit is to be attributed to *Annual* Revolutions, nothing but (h) division, dissention, bloodshed, murder, backbiting (i) treachery, poisoning, distraction, and faction will be at the Courts of Princes and else where, each one mistrusting one another, many being faulty, and long ere any be discovered, murmuring secretly each at other, so that it may be feared God hath sent downe into our English Court and Common wealth, that destructive and Martjall Angell, which incited the enemies of God to destroy each other. But let us be sory for what we shall exactly see and finde true in this kinde, and endeavour an Union amongst our selves.

There are also this yeare two Solar Eclipses, and they of long duration and great, though not visible in our Horizon; yet in a time of generall distemper they will operate and adde fuell to the fire: The first is in the nineteenth degree of *Pisces*, neare the Cuspe of the fifth house in the Revolution, where *Mercury* and *Cauda draconis* are placed: That may point out the continuance of our Domestique troublesome wars by the subtilty, cunning and plotting of a woman, or women rather; Secretaries, flie knaves, witty and well spoken: *Magni prestantisq; viri interitum, latrocinia, et rapinas terra marique promiscuas* *ignitur*: *Proclus*, it threatens the death or destruction of some eminent person, thefts and pillaging in a promiscuous manner, as well by Sea as by Land. The second Eclipse is in *August*, in the ninth degree of *Virgo*: *Calamitosum regis alicujus exitum & stragem arguit; famem, pestem, & seditiones mortalium*: It argues a Tragical end and discomfiture of some certaine King, Prince, or great man; and Hunger, Famine, the Plague, sedition

sedition or suddaine rising of men, with many miseries I forbear to relate, cruelty, oppression, inhumanitie of the souldier, and that many Maritime Townes will be in great jeopardie, and sustaine much damage, it points out many sea fights, the death or destruction of some Emperesse, Queene, Princeesse, noble-woman or the like in our *Europeian* part of the world. Both the Revolution it selfe and the former Eclipse acquaint us, that some Embassadour or Embassadours, Agents, Commissioners or the like from forraigne parts will arrive here to negotiate an accomodation, and in conclusion they may be discovered, or it will be doubted and mistrusted, they deale not so candidly as may or might be expected : And indeed I find this will be a yeare of discoverie of friends from foes ; as well at Court as in Common-wealth ; a full discovery will be made of one eminent person at Court, and perhaps of an other some where else, that is a starke knave or knaves to this poore kingdome of *England* : Is not *Mercurie* Lord of the 11th. and an assistant to his Majestie at Court : and is not he dissembler enough and traitor besides that hath his *significator* with *cauda draconis*. I cannot say this is the man, or these the very men, but I say the most mischievous of all is such a man ; one that hath formerly been employed as Agent, Negotiator, Commissioner, Secretarie, or Embassadour, and is of stature pretty tall, of a swarty, fallow or Sun-burnt complexion, a thin visage and ill countenance, but of a deepe and pestilent understanding, he is not fluent in his speech, but covetous and envious, &c. But sith *Mercurie* is with *Cauda Draconis*, and in double bodied signe, he may represent more then one, or many, one whereof may be a seeming Saint, though really an arch Atheist, one of high stature, big joynted, aged, and yet not much more or lesse then sixty, one of much outward sobrietie and gravitie, &c. It doth appeare by the trine aspect which *Venus* and *Jupiter* and *Saturne* have to the *medium Cœli*, and the existence of the Moone in the tenth, that those parties signified by the 10th house may expect in these their affairs the assistance of three or foure Kings or States, or ayde of men, ammunition and money from so many Countries ; but I find not that those forces shall opportunely serve their occasions, or much improve their undertakings, for let us consider both *Jupiter* and *Venus* are cadent, and neither of them so dignified ; that is so flush, as to spare such considerable supplies as may effect the thing intended ; I shall speake more of this in the sequell. Doe not I evidently see, and may not a moderate Astrologer perceive, that their owne domestike servants shall betray them at home, and their correspondents abroad deceive them and falsifie their promises ; is not *Mercurie* their *significator peregrine*, in detriment and in no support of any planetary aspect. Every Prince or State that in-

Here have
since arrived
some
Embassadours.

termeddles will be full of feare and suspicion, that in assilting such persons as are signified by the *M: Celi*, they may plucke an old house over their heads, viz. they may unhappily give libertie to their owne subjects to rise in Armes for their iust privilegedges : But the reason of this judgement is drawne from that *Apho. of Cardane in Seg. 2. 187. Coniunctionis locum revolutionem precedentis, quo in loco ab ascendente fuerit revolutionis anni considera, nam magna evenient juxta domus naturam.* Consider the place of the new Moone preceding the Annuall Revolution, and also in what place of heaven it is in from the ascendant, for great matters shall come to passe according to the nature of that house. The Conjunction preceding the Revolution is in the degree neare *Mercurie* in our Scheame, and he was Lord of the Regall house at time of the conjunction : The Eclipse it selfe was partly in the seventh house, retarding it's effects the longer, that is, untill *May, June* and *July* ; but will it end in *July* ? Oh no : then, &c. The position of the Moone in the 10th house in conjunction with *Cor leonis*, doth assure us that the greatest State actions of *Europe* this yeare will be mannaged by a woman or women, or men of feminine deportment and spirit, but as both *Venus* is peregrine and cadent, and the Moone is afflicted by *Mars*, out of the 4th house, and a signe fixed ; so either sicknesse, or some casuall accident, afright or amazement, or vengeance from heaven, may prosecute her or them to their graves, and so cause them to finish their dayes in a miserable condition : These women are in part described, one of a haughty masculine spirit and courage, tall and sleibie, fat and faire, of flaxen haire, &c. this is presented by the Moone ; The second signified by *Venus* in *Ariete* should give the complexion to be browne and ruddie, somewhat obscure, because under the earth, of middle stature, excellent spirit and temper, crosse and wilfull, of a sad browne haire, sickly, because *Venus* is in detriment and in 6th decaying in name and fame, because the Sun affords no aspect unto her, &c. The third should be signified by *Jupiter*, or her conditions at least, though he is masculine : A Ladie of goodly proportion clouded in the world, for *Jupiter* is departing out of *Aries* into *Taurus*, where he hath little dignitie, she is freckle faced, and some blemish in one of her fore-teeth, or impediment in her breath, perhaps it stinkes. But now againe I find *Mars* is absolutely (*Dominus Anni*) the Moone doth participate, because of her strength and locall being in the tenth house. The signe of *Scorpio* represents the Commonaltie or vulgar people, *Mars* and the Moone their Superiours, Governours, Commanders, or better sorts of people. *Mars* and the Moone are in opposition and in fixed signes, how much doe I feare discord and division in *May, June* or *July*, these Planets.

nets fore-shew some such thing; God grant no distractions may ever appeare amongst them: More might be said.

This yeare the Sun properly and naturally, doth signifie Sovereignty, Royaltie, Monarches and Monarchies, and in effect all the Kings or the principall Rulers of *Europe*; for the signe ascending being of long ascensions, we shall scarce find any other ascendant or culminating signe then what we have already in our owne *Horizon*, though we reduce the Suns ingresse to almost any latitude in *Europe*. It is true the Moone accidentally hath some signification of majestie. *Esse Regum à Sole, Saturno, & Planeta existente in decima. Hermes. Apho.xxij.* Take the signification of Kings or Princes from the Sun, Saturne, and the planet casually posited in the 10th house. Yet *Mars* is absolutely strongest for all the yeare, some moneths excepted, words of some concernement, if rightly apprehended, else not to be expounded. But let us make use of our scheame and collect the judgement of our Authors, *Aspicias si decima domus fuerit Leo, & utrum tunc Mars aspiciat Solem vel decimam, vel si fuerint Sol & Mars corporaliter juncti, tunc inquit timetur interfectio Regis sive Principis cujusdam illo in anno, & si vis scire unde, vide in qua domo Mars est, & ab illa domo est causa sceleris.* See if the 10th house be the signe of *Leo*, and if *Mars* behold either the house, or be in conjunction with the Sun, if such a thing or aspect happen, it may be doubted a King or certaine potent Prince will be in danger of killing that yeare; if you will know from whom; see in what house *Mars* is, and require the cause from thence, &c. *Mars* is now in the 4th, *Accidet ergo hac illi ab aliquo qui veniet extra terram, viz.* this mischief shall chance to the King or Prince or great person from one borne in another Country: A good Caveat to Princes to entrust no forraigners with the safeguard of their persons and bodies, the judgement would stretch further, that they arme no forraigne borne Prince for feare of deceit and treacherie: *Accidit in puncto quod non speratur in anno:* A mischief soone happens, when it's effected, no bodie is willing to owne the perpetration. The judgement is not improbable nor what followes immediately grounded upon great reason in Art, because the Sun is going to the conjunction of Saturne; *Accidet regi cuidam angustia timebiturq, ne---Rex illo in anno;* Extreme griefe of mind shall infinitely oppresse a Prince this yeare, and it may be doubted some mischief may befall the said Prince. He that knows how to apply the rules of Art to judgement, may frame a shreud supposition, let him consider what Saturne is naturally, what house he is Lord of, and in what house he is posited. The truth is; either a Ladie, Embassadour, or great Commander shall wonderfully torment some *Eu-*

Guido sol.

522.

Guido. sol.

521.

ropian Prince; or with their Councils united shall bring abundance of reluctancy to some person of Regall descent: Some ill newes may come to those Princes that have children, concerning either the death, sicknesse, or some dire accident to one or more of them; the same that I say to Kings, Princes or Dukes, I say to Earles and other great Gentlemen, in a time of generall infelicity, what eyes hath the bullet of a musket or Cannon, or the edge of a cutting sharpe sword. I must ingeniously confesse the posture of heaven is averse to Monarchy, nor doth it flatter the Commonalty: both shall suffer and smart: a happie peace were much to be desired, for *Mars in revolutione Anni in Angulo, & assexerit ascendens, significat sanguinem, & gravium, & in omni terrâ in cuius signo fuerit ejus lumen, vel oppositio vel quartus aspectus*: If *Mars* in the revolution of a yeare be in an angle, he signifies bloud-shed and to purpose, and in every countrey to which he casteth his quadrate or opposite aspect, or to the country subject to the signe he possesseth at that moment of the revolution. If this prove true, my judgement must faile, if *Italy* this yeare be not in some broyles, *Valachia magna, Muscovia, Transilvania, Swethland, Westphalia, Bavaria, Piemont*, some countries that lie neare the *Alpi, Apulia, Gallia togata*; some, part of *Greece and Turkie, Polonia magna, Lorraine*, a great part of *Germanie, Ireland*, although *Jupiter* passe through *Taurus*; *France* will hardly be excused, or *Denmarke* stand for a cypher: A proper goodly Noble-man of red or flaxen haire will vex or disturbe the North or North-west or West of *Scotland*, and perhaps some others the South. But those active gallants must beware: I meddle not with *Portingall* whose King I much honour; he's like to keepe what he hath: Nor with some Cities of *Holland and Zeeland*, who may perhaps have cause to murmure ere the Sunne againe returne to *Aries, 1645*. I write cordially, I will flatter no Nation or people: what art informes I must write; I say there will be fraction and faction, not onely and altogether at or in the Courts of Princes, but in their countries and dominions amongst their Subjects and meaner people: *Rome and Venice* looke to it carefully, is there no treason hatching against yeu, no private counsell to plunge both cities in warre, either this Pope *Barbarino*, or some magnificent Clergy-man will be in danger of death this yeare; why not made away in a tumult or strangled. Let not the *Aurangian* Family thinke it selfe excluded this yeare, from perturbation, mistrust, jealousy; if from further mischief. *Catalania and Norway* are subject to *Scorpio*, *or go, &c.* *Si Mars fuerit corporaliter junctus Saturno* (as the last day of *May* you may find them) *significat diminutionem status divitum ac magnatum & male se habebunt invicem cives illius Regionis, & pauca erit inter*

Guido, fol.
321.

I heare
some such
thing hath
hapned.

Guido, fol.
552.

in pietas & misericordia. When in a yeare you find *Mars* corporally joy-
ned to *Saturne*, the wealth of the Nobilitie and of great persons is ex-
treamely impoverished, the Citizens generally of that Region have
much adoe, small is the charity or mercie which men use one towards
another: *Si Mars sit junctus Saturno, significat bellum & effusionem san-* Guido fol.
guinis, & multitudinem febrium, & etiam quartanas febres, & pestilencias 552.
in partibus orientalibus & significat juvenes & quod cadet inter divites &
magnates Guerra atq; mutua interfectio ex ferro. If *Mars* be joyned to *Sa-*
turne, he premonisheth of Warts to ensue, and the effusion of Christian
bloud, many violent Feavers of all kinds, quartan Agues, pestilence in
the East-parts, and that the Nobilitie and great men or Gentry shall fall
at division amongst themselves, and one kill or destroy another: When
could these rules have been more aptly applyed, then in these distempe-
red times; the cause or provocation which now incites to kill, was for-
merly in a time of peace concluded in wrangling words, in this sence un-
derstand me.

Mars in revolutione in signo acrio significat injurias, So saith *Meſſabalah*
lib.1. cap.45. *Mars* in the revolution of a yeare in an aery signe fore-
shews injury oppression and tyranny: which is confirmed by *Hispalen-*
ſis, *Mars in signo humana figura erunt bella, sanguinis effusiones, mortes ense*
vel igne; *Mars* as now posited, doth portend shedding of blood by sword
and fire &c. The reason hereof I conceive to bee, because aery signes pro-
duce words and winde, which usually provoke men to further quarrell.
There are some conceive and that rationally that *Saturnus* being Lord of
the third and combust, doth stirr up a multitude of theeves and high-way
robbers. *Intrabit districtio et Angustia super nobiles;* Distresse, sorrow, and
anguish of mind shall terrifie the Nobility and Gentry of this and other
Kingdomes. So many Axiomes and Aphorismes of the learned against
the Gentry and Nobility, doth seeme exceedingly to stirr up many affli-
ctions unto them in their estates, fortunes and persons; Caution is good;
wee can never bee too wise, especially in a troublesome time. Be things
as they may, *Si Saturnus fuerit in quinta, significat abortivos illo in anno plus* Guido, fol.
ſolito, et detrimentum filiorum, et contentiones cum legatis, et nuntiis, et quod 555.
ipsi non bene perficient quod sua interest. Guido, Fol. 562.

Saturne in the fift house causeth more abortives then usually have been,
the destructions of many mens sons or children, much tergiversation
with Embassadors and forraigne Agents, and that they performe not
what may bee expected from them: Let our State see to this if any Em-
bassadors come over unto us this yeare, and let people be carefull of their
children, and midwives of women in travell. The more I behold the
B 3 heavens.

heavens, the greater mischiefe do I feare; but knowing God can in a moment reconcile us, I am more sparing in Art; yet let none take it ill I predict what I do upon the positive rules therof. But sith *Saturnus* and *Mars* come the first time to a meeting since the ninth-lesser Conjunction of *Saturne* and *Iupiter*, 164³. now in this present yeare, and in the sixth house of heaven, here may be some especiall notice taken of it, for according to the immediate action depending on this little or lesser * Conjunction, you shall, I say, see wonderfull alterations to succcede; Some would imagine, because it falls in the sixth house, that it should signifie extreme sicknesses, much destruction to mankind, &c. without good consideration, it may puzzle an easie judgement: my opinion is thus, that as both *Iupiter* and *Venus* in *figura Mundi* were by place in the sixth house, so their benevolent presence may and will diminish the malicious influence of the *uno* infortunes, especially if that Aphorisme be true, *Quicquid ligat Saturnus, solvit Iupiter*; *quicquid ligat Mars, solvit Venus*: *Iupiter* cures where *Saturne* hurts, and *Venus* where *Mars*; and this is true in any magicall naturall conclusion.

Its true, the Conjunction succedes the Worlds figure, and yet I conceive it shall produce no such plague or fearefull diseases as some have dreamed; it may produce great weaknesse in peoples fights; the head-ach more then ordinary, and stoppings at the brest, and much slimy fleagme in the throat, but that it should shew a sickness, I meane a plague generally, I cannot fore-see: for *Mars* being in his owne house, hath great dominion of *Saturne*, and if we beleeeve *Almanfor* *proposit. 7^o*. *Quando dua conjunguntur infortuna, fit ex eis fortuna perfecta*. The Conjunction of the two infortunes, becomes a fortune. It must be warily understood, some evil they will doe, but not so much as otherwayes they would, had neither of them been well dignified. But because *Aries* is a beastiall signe, and the Conjunction is in the sixth House, I conceive it imports much stirring and preparation to Action in a Military way; and causeth the Souldier to desire fight and service, and for that *Mars* is Lord of the ascendant in *figura Mundi*, and *Saturne* of the fourth, which signifieth Townes, Castles, Forts, &c. neare upon the time of the Conjunction, or in *June*. A Towne will be taken by those that had *Mars* their significators in the worlds figure, &c. it tells us of detriment, hinderance, losse, consumption and destruction of foure-footed beasts, both greater and smaller, and especially of those are most usefull for man, as the Oxe, the Horse, Cow, Ass, the Hog, Sheepe, Deere, Conny, &c. it threatens mens servants male and female, young and old. By which it appears how great losse and dammage the industrious Countrey-Farmer and Husbandman shall sustaine, by loosing,

This conjunction is the last day of May.

Almans. prop. 3^o.

The conjunction of these two planets, doth cause such daime stormes, hail, thunder, tempests, &c.

and the taking away of such goods and servants as are most usefull for him. But shall the Countrey Farmer, or day-labourer loose all, it is said by some, that *Iupiter in Ariete*, &c. threatens and points out Nobles, Judges, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Bishops, Deanes, Clergy-men in generall, Doctors, Proctors, Attorneys, Phisitions, Surgeons, some Commanders in Chiefe, of all sorts of men and Citizens some, or many of every kinde shall participate in this generall losse, either in their persons or fortunes, and of this let every Reader be sure, &c. In many parts of this Kingdome it shall come to passe one neighbour shall be very carefull to preserve somewhat for another, but it shall so fall out, he that indeavours preservation for his neighbour shall in the meane time runne the hazard of loosing his owne, so much oppression and inhumanity shall in probability fall upon us this yeare. *Video paucitatem substantiarum & curiositatis inter magnates*; I judge the Nobility and Gentry shall not be so flush of money as to buy bables and trifles: the pressing Calamities of this yeare may be so extreme, God grant them money to furnish themselves with bread and necessary Conveniencies: Let *Punchillos* alone. These Arabicall Conclusions may this yeare be well verified, the times considered; for sith all the Angles are fixed, and the Moone and *Mars* strong in Angles, the *chela* in the ascendant, and *Cor Leonis* in the tenth, the Sun impedit of *Saturnus*; *Iupiter* and *Venus* weake and cadent; I see no probability of concluding any peace this yeare; I am of opinion there will be strong action and warre all this whole yeare, and that there will be fighting enough and too much. Let me be pardoned: feci: I assure you there's a myserie, who is he can tell it? But Astrologers use to say, when *Mars* is in the fourth house, and in a house of *Saturnus*, Significat exspoliationem mortuorum positorum in sepulchris & suffossionem parietum & ablationem aliarum rerum per modum latrocinii; significat exercitium hominum in lucrando & extorquendo pecuniam undecumq; poterunt per modum dominationis non licite, per falsas attestaciones, & per verba malitiosa, & patientur homines pericula & tribulationes, viz. we may justly feare in this ensuing yeare, the robbing, spoiling and defacing of the sepulchers or monuments of the deceased, the undermining and breaking or demolishing of stone wals and buildings; the unruly taking away of other mens goods by way of filching, thevery and shirking, we also foresee a kind of trade amongst men in getting and extorting moneys *per fas & nefas*, after a domineering fashion or commanding way altogether illegall, by false informations and suggestions of evill words, by which meanes men shall suffer infinite damage, tribulation, and other personall afflictions, &c. If *Mars* be in the fourth house, much death follows by sword and sickness; and these beginnings may be or begin in the North and

Guido, fol.
565.

Guido, fol.
570.

Guido, fol.
573.

and end in the South ; & hoc crede mihi est valde timendum. Nor shall the South West and West escape without plenty of bloudshed, poverty, and plundering, &c. *Crede. Si Mars fueris in Aquario* (as he now is) *significat gravitates atq; tribulationes venturas hominibus, & abundabunt nives, & pluvia, & frigus in suo tempore, suis suis temporibus, & minuetur Annona & vinum atq; butyrum in partibus occidentalibus, & in terra qua dicitur negotiarum, & significat mortem sive mutationem regis sive dominatoris illius regionis in qua tu revolveris annum.* If Mars be in *Aquarius*, he portends grievous afflictions and tribulations shall come upon men, and that snow, raine and cold shall abound in their seasons, there shall be great scarcitie of provision for man and beast, as also of Butter and the like in those Westerne parts from whence it was formerly transported by the Merchant ; either the death of the King of that Countrey where you set that revolution is to be feared, or some mutation of principall Governour ; we have now many severall Governours, let there be a change of twenty, so that God blese our Sovereigne *Charles King of England*, which I hope he will, and indeed the Arabians, whose words these are, had in every their severall Countreies a petty King, so that the words might almost annually be fulfilled amongst them, or once in three yeares ; but I see not how it can have relation to our Kings of Europe in the strictness of the letter : it may threaten some casualty in my opinion, or some suddaine amasement or fright to some European King, Prince, or the like, &c. There will be a sensible alteration in many mens estates by reason of their children ; let it be understood rightly, and the Sun shall not the second time run into or thorough *Aries* ere children and kindred act their parts and that to purpose, &c. and in truth the Sun in the fifth impeditied of *Saturne* sheweth this. I must now fall upon a necessary people signified to the world by *Mercury*, who represents Secretaries, Scribes and Clerkes of all sorts (& a consiliis regum) as also Messengers, Agents, Trumpeters, but above all *Accomptants*, *Treasurers*, *Receivers* of money publike and private, but whether any of these be really honest, I matter not ; there are many of these shall receive this yeare a just sentence for their cozening, cheating, and corrupt accounts, and for shirking the Common-wealth and State. Above all observe that *Mercury* is in the house of *Jupiter*, this tels me a spade is a spade, viz. that the *greatest Professour makes not alwayes the truest accounts : Me thinke I see them in *July*, *August*, *September*, and *October* quake, and pray that God might send some Angell to take their accounts. Let me prophetically tell these Accomptants, our State will narrowly sift out their knavery, though most cunningly under the vaile of Religion they would shuffle off all calling to question, untill doomes day : As long as ye live trust none

This I mean
of those that
under pre-
sence of Re-
ligion, get
fat places,
but have no
honesty to
use them,
whereby the
State suffers.



of those that prolong time: *Latet anguis in herba*: I love the honest man but hate the knave. Had not the Starres given me tongue and judgement, I had been silent. *Altercationes verborum toto hoc anno inter homines plus solito.* More words jangling and wrangling then matter all this whole year, but to little purpose, unlesse to prolong our disturbances, which as yet are not come to their height. Guido.

But let us come neerer home, and I hope without offence, seeing I finde the Moone in the tenth house neare Conjunction of the noble Star *Bastilius* in Tryne to *Impiter* and *Venus*, I do collect Astrologically that those signified by the tenth house, by Her Agents or Embassadors shall obtaine assistance and supply from some Countries lying Eastward and Southward, and also from other parts, I meane, beyond the Sea: But if my judgement be not muddy, * *Mars* who represents the Commonalty, their Officers, Sea-men, Ships, &c. being in opposition to the Moone, who represents the Ships that shall transport that assistance, I say its probable, the Publique Ships or Souldiers belonging to the Common-wealth shall meet with part of the Ammunition, men, and money, and either sink or take them; perhaps ship-wrack may cast away some, &c.

* Some say that the valiant *Swanley* hath effected part of this upon the Irish.

Questionlesse, because *Impiter* and *Venus* do both behold the Moon in the tenth house, and the Mid-heaven it selfe; Divers States, Kings, or Princes, and Princesses (because of the Moone in the tenth) living East and South from *London* will endeavour an Assistance all they can. But all their signifiers the Moone excepted are ill placed, whereby it may be knowne some would, but cannot; others will casually finde impediment, so that few will performe so much assistance as is and will be requisite for the enterprize in hand; and yet aide will come, for the Moone will performe it.

Here's much matter to be performed this year, its no sleepe or drowfie time; *Cum Luna in nocte fuerit in decima, significat effectum rerum ex parte regis & mulierum, & erit hoc cito, sed res in utrisq; temporibus non erit durabilis.* When the Moone by night is in the tenth house, Kings shall have their desires performed by the sollicitation of women, and that suddenly, but what they act either by day or night, shall be of no continuance; From which it may be collected, that the Queens or great Ladies of Europe shall mannage the most materiall affaires of this year, and lend or send support to those whom they thinke are wanting thereof. But as the mindes of men are variable, I feare many shall finde the Resolutions of great Ladies this year more mutable. Guido, fol. 388.

* What shall I say, its probable that in *June*, *July*, or *August*, men, ammunition, or money may seasonably come to those that want it. Every

Guido, fol.
590.

planet hath some signification in one kinde or other, so hath the Dragons head and taile, though they are no planets but Nodes. *Caput in Virgine, destructionem messium & ceterarum frugum, & paucitatem omnium rerum qua metuentur, & casum vermium in arboribus & destructionem eorum que remanserint a prima destructione, etiam postquam fuerint reposita in locis in quibus credentur saluari sive custodiri.* *Caput in an* Annuall revolution in *Virgine* tels us of the destruction of our harvest and other fruits, and much scarcitie of such commodities as are sold by measure, that Vermine and Caterpillers shall consume our fruits and abound on the trees, and what the Caterpillar leaves at one time, another sort of destructive creature will spoile at another: as also the losse, spoiling and wast of that corne, fruit or other graine which men have stored up in such places as formerly gave safety to their Commodities; so that little securitie is likely to be in our Chambers for household-stuffe or goods, as little in our barnes for our corn, and the like uncertainty in our Store-houses for necessary provision, or in our ware-houses for fruit and other Commodities. *Cauda draconis* saith, the souldier shall extend his power and rule over his Prince or Commander, and that many gallant and brave fellowes called Gentlemen and Noblemen will shift their habitations and dwellings to avoide the sentence and punishment due unto them for offences committed, and especially for feare of imprisonment, which they extremely desire to avoide: there will be also much babling, many provocations and words to stirre up new Sects and Ceremonies in Religion, so that it seemes here will be worke enough; generally *Cauda draconis* in the fist, *Tristabuntur homines causa filiorum, & quod portabunt homines sua vestimenta vetera.* Guido, fol. 595. Men shall be extremely perplexed for losse of their sons and children, and many men shall be so put to it, they will be inforced to runne away with old clothes; Let me not live if Guido was not in this a very Prophet, for omitting the impoverishment of many by the Souldier, very many besides by reason of infinite taxes and pressures have made no new Clothes a long time, if it happen these to run, they must necessarily trudge with old clothes. *Bella excitat Mars si fuerit in Revolutione anni in Angulo figura Celi quocumq.* Leopoldus, lib. 5. de Revo. Mars in any Angle in *figura Mundi*, or yeares Revolution, excites mens mindes to war and contention; you must understand, if in a time of peace he be so posited, he provokes men to much law suit, the Nobility to private Duels, the Gentry to envie and siding one against another: the Country Farmer to many unjust molestations, one towne against another: For as raine in Summer though it descend in good quantity, doth not then by reason of the drinnesse of the ground, presently cause a floud; so neither in a peaceable time doth

Mars

Mars operate more then I have said, but now in an outrageous time and of warre it selfe, we must take the words literally; But if the same Author speake truth, *Victor eris, &c.* He shall be Victor or overcome, who, &c. *Si Saturnus fuerit vel in quadrato, oppositione vel conjunctione Solis, Regibus significat damna & infirmitates qua accidunt in hominibus & in substantiis eorum, sed si Mars fuerit in quarto & humano signo, accidet in hominibus effusiones multi sanguinis & litium, & bellorum, & erit generale, & erit fortius in fine Anni.* *Haly, 363. fol.* If *Saturne* be either in Conjunction, square or opposition of the Sun, he demonstrates much sufferings unto Kings or great Princes in their fortune and worldly estate, but if *Mars* be in the fourth, and in a humane signe, there will happen to men much slaughter, many warres and controversies, and these calamities or misfortunes shall be generall, and most forcible towards the latter end of the yearé. What Part of *England* this present sixth of *January, 1644.* is free or cleare from one oppression or other, ere the latter end of the yearé, my heart trembles to thinke what shall happen in the West parts of this Kingdome; for as *Mars* in *Geminis* the last yearé afflicted that Country and Confines, so doe I much more feare him this yearé by reason of his positure in *Aquarius*, so that I doubt he may oppress their maritime or Sea-Townes to purpose, their fertile grounds and pleasant meadowes. The Souldier will devoure and consume their stately houses and principall Palaces, fire, warre, and the Canon may espoliare, &c. Let us looke to *Dunkirke*, and it to its selfe: yet let us not slight those *English* coasts that lye towards the coasts of *Normandy*: Its not probable any Army shall enter the East and South-East parts of this Kingdome, though at severall times such a thing may be endeavoured. Those counties beyond *Trent* where the Elevation of the Pole is more then 54. are like to be the Tennis-ball of fortune harbouring both friends and enemies at one time, yet at length, if division hinder not, the enemy is beaten into a narrow compassse. *August* will informe you more, *September* and *October* very much; *June* and *July* will have plentifull action, &c. If no Authours had charactered this yearé for such a blacke one, my own experience, though but small, would have made me doubt some terrible fate to be neer approaching. For upon perusal of many of my friends Nativities, and upon examination of their *Hylegiacall* places, I have found most of their Significators to have uncomfortable Promittors in one kind or other, intimating either danger, death, or destruction to their persons, or dammage to their estates and fortunes, all which could not be, if we did not already, and must further suffer under the generall fate now impending over *England*.

And indeed our sufferings are more sharp and terrible by reason the as-

endant of this years revolution is neare the degree of the Comet in 1618, whose operation is now strongly in full force over all *England*, and is wandering towards the more *Northerne Clymates*, viz. *Scotland*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Polonia*, *Russia*, &c. but because in my *Astrologically Discourse* of the effects of that conjunction of *Saturne* and *Jupiter* 1641, I am copious, I forbear further mention. The ascendant of this yeares revolution is the signe culminating at time of that conjunction: it is also the ascendant, when *Saturne* and *Mars* meet 31. *May*: by all which we are forewarned in the heavenly language, how great, how many, how terrible and variable the acts and warres of this yeare shall be: But shall we only suffer, or have the sword onely drawne in our Kingdome? Oh *Germanie*, *Germanie*, looke to thy selfe and confines, neighbours and friends in *July*, *August*, or *September*. Be not too confident thou populous *France*, somewhat is neare thee, &c. *Spaine* tremble, yet halfe an age, thou hast many enemies; few are thy friends, ten moneths hence, *Transilvania* will rise and *Hungaria* fight. The *Polonian* may goe neare to spoile his quiet and happinesse, &c.

But many will wonder I am so extravagant, or why this yeare I speak so much of warre. I find *Mars* is Lord of the yeare, *Ergo ex intemperato Martis ardore, ac rubrabilis cui praeest, vehementi commotione in animis hominum excitantur intemperata scilicet commotiones, quas incompocita quoq; aeliones, violentiq; atq; inconsiderati sequuntur affectus, unde ira, temeritas, &c.* and all those doubts and feares which so much oppress us, and terrifie the fancies of people at this time, so that we cannot believe one another, be the matter projected never so reall. The North-west parts and North-East quarters of this kingdome shall infinitely suffer by our combustions this yeare; in those Countries and in the West, there may be many a fight. But if I understand the Scituation of *England* aright, the most eminent and materiall grand action or fight may happen not much above 20. miles from *Coventry*; and yet I confesse there's probability that neare to the City of *Bath* in the West of *England*, there may be a mortall combat and a pitch field fought, greatly to the disadvantage of the looser: there's also many other Towns in the West where, and neare unto which places there will be some hot and memorable service. He that carries the day in the first fight, and prosecutes the victorie wisely in the second fight, he I say may say and sing, *Actum est*; for he may obtaine a Lawrell Garland, &c.

• Monethly Observations.

Let us heedfully observe what followeth after the conjunction of the Sunne and Saturne the: 0th of March.

Verified.

Sir *Iohn Meldram* at *Newmarke* upon *Trent*, upon the 21. had his de-
teate

feate: The 29. the honourable Sir *William Waller* and Sir *William Belfore*, that resolute brave man, beate the *Hoptonians*.

Observe the Conjunction of the Sunne and *Jupiter* the 17. of April, and the actions of the 23, 25, 26. April.

Her Majestie went from *Oxford* towards *Bristol* or *Exeter* the same day; and that day newes came to *London* of the Parliaments forces their victorie at *Selby*; about the 25. of April: Sir *John Gell* beate *Goring* in *Derbshire*. About the 20. day the *Scottish* Armie and the Lord *Fairfax* that brave Lord met. Verified.

If our Armies be neare there will be blowes, or some rascall Irish will land to fight for his Majestie, and the Protestant cause: Some Popish assistance of men, ammunition or mony may come by sea for his Majestie, &c. Irish keeps at home, unlesse you can swallow a Cannon or wade over the Sea. April.

I am informed certainly that divers *Irish* have landed this month, whether any ammunition have come, I have not heard, or whether such a destinie follow the *Irish*; time will manifest. Verified.

In *May* we have various newes, some good, some bad, report that a great Woman is dead: about the middle some overtures, or propositions for peace, or Embassidours, &c. Observe who is in danger the latter end of *May* upon the conjunction of *Saturne* and *Mars* 31. at what time our Armies will be neare the enemy and they us; let the publike Armie take heed of treacherie, mutinie and false information of some Country peasant: Ladies begin to be fearefull after the square of *Saturne* and *Venus*, the sextill of *Sol* and *Saturne*, some great person goes to looke after his wife. I feare there will be many skirmishes this moneth towards the latter end thereof; let us not be terrified with the first newes, the second may proove better: Oh division and distraction: Some are good for nothing else: Gentlemen and Nobles shift your habitations. May
Whether
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June begins with sad newes to some bodie and broken heads: 4th day an opposition of the Moone to *Saturne* and *Mars*, and the quadrature of *Saturne* and *Mercurie*, will prove unluckie, opening the way to much mischief, fighting and action; some accomptants or publicke Receivers would faine shuffle and protract time, and it brings newes out from the North not very good; presently after comfortable newes. A King loseth a friend, presently after another State have a loss; some treacherous men or letters are taken or discovered: Some Ammunition or men coming for *England* may be met with; perhaps feare of a plot: God bless the *London* Army; more aide comes: the latter part of *June* hath action where

where Armies are neare ; Some Army may move Southward, and a generall or principall Commander is either taken prisoner, or in danger, if his horse trot not or be slaine.

July.

The first weeke in *July* may prove bloudie enough, and fatall to some great Officer ; some more *Irish* will be jogging for *England* : A great person fals sick, &c. What comes from the East, and who moves Eastward. Many flying reports of some skirmishing at sea, and abundance of lying newes in *London*. Some missives, or thoughts or talke of peace, *July 26.* there's a conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, neare the degree of the 8. house of the figure of the world *. The *Irish* may curse their coming ; some Agent or Embassadours for treatie. Sudden Commotions, mutinies and many brave Gallants slaine as well noble as others : Judges and Lawyers have ill successe : the precedent conjunction fore-tells a battell or fight ; God prevent it : if private division hurt not all is well : the Sextill of the *Sunne* and *Jupiter* promisseth assistance from *Ireland* ; and it is the tryne of *Jupiter* and *Venus* that moves for some treatie, either by Embassadours or others. As strange newes from forraigne parts, and yet it comforts many.

* It portends much slaughter & bloodshed.

August.

The beginning of *August* is full of frights, fights and amazements, they now may meet that have not a great while ; *Saturne* is Retrograde ; *Plutini Retrogradus est, ut vir infirmus, stupefactus, sollicitus, Bethem. Aph. 2.* A Retrograde planet is like a man infirm, amazed carefull ; our English Proverb expresseth the words excellently. *A man as it were frighted out of his wits* : Some bodie growes worse and worse, now some get Townes, Castles and forts, others doe loose whole Countries, 11th day, *Jupiter* enters *Gemini*, and the 14th day the *Sun* and *Jupiter* meet by quadrate ; as the one shewes good to the City of *London* in my judgement, so the aspect either captives or kils some Commander, *A galloping nagg is better then no horse at all.* 17. day *Venus* she is Retrograde, this Retrogradation is a thing against nature ; some great Ladie mistrusts her health and safety : an opportune time to question money receivers : good newes is welcome : the barbarous *Irish* may smart : Eclipse of the *Sun* the 21th day. Some young Commanders must either die or be taken : I wish unitie in the City ever. 31. *Aug.* a square of *Mars* and the *Sun* ; the Moone carries the light to *Saturne* : Now motion in the West : A man or a Mouse : more blowes, and Townes surrendered. A fight is likely to be neare some Citie or Towne. God bleffe Kings and Princes, Generals of Armies ; we may heare some ill newes or messages, who is in danger latter end of *August* or *September*.

September.

September 8th day, Jupiter becomes Retrograde, Nobles and Gentlemen,

men, some Clergie and Lawyers disperse themselves, and find out new places or habitations; we heare some bodie dies or flies; some manner of sicknesse breakes out (not much of the plague) a kind of unknowne disease, lying in the head, eyes, and stomach or brest, women are still crost and vext: there's opposition of *Saturne* and *Mercurie* 14. day: much dammage to the Country Farmer in his cattle, corne and commoditie: the Plunderers rove up and downe: if they be questioned (I mean) the publicke and private Receivers, they will be found guiltie; be sure to looke to the old; goe to the root, feare not: falsenesse in Clarkes and Secretaries, some private letters opened: an old knave and a fox is found out. The month shews much stirring and action, fighting enough, if no set field. Where fights are, men loole their lives, some shipwracke or strange gales of wind: opposition of *Sunne* and *Saturne*, some wicked designe against *England*: strange weather, all in extreames: and more losse to the Farmer in the West: *Venus* is direct; and *Mars* enters *Cancer* about 27. day: A good gale of wind, and God blesse us.

The first full Moone in October opens the passage to the last grand opposition of *Sol* and *Saturne*: our misery continues: without Gods mercies our sorrowes increase; our men fight some private dissention: Are the *Welch* mad: I hope no division in *Scotland* or betwixt us: Let us love, we live; disjoint, both are undone. 8. day *Jupiter* he enters *Taurus* by Retrogradation; the *Irish* matter, and perhaps are frightened: the tryne of *Jupiter* and *Venus* seeme to intend some hopes of accomodation, if not exchange of prisoners: We may feare an *Hericane* about 27. or 28. *Octo.* A new Moone in *Octo.* may endanger some peoples lives at sea, and do mischief at land, *Tempus periculosum*: will not the actions of this new Moone be fatall, it should; it's in the degree ascendant of the yeare, 29. *Mars* is running madd and must be Retrograde; thieves and high-way men good store; and men run from one place to another: Do no Plunderers breake into *Scotland*.

I like not *November*, what strange weather here is: and yet we cannot be at rest: here's probability that many great persons shall suffer, but whether death or losse of limmes and goods, God onely knowes: Men are called to account; Justice must now be done, and rich or poore must answer at the barre of Justice: Some may loole their heads upon opposition of *Sol* and *Jupiter*: Great Ladies suffer in health: *Mercurie* affords variety of false newes, 23. *Novemb.* or thereabouts. The many aspects of the Planets and they ill, shew some extreame treason, treachery or the like, and some sea towne obtained or surrendred by falsenesse: many blowes where parties are neare, and many men drowned.

God

December. God be mercifull unto us this moneth : upon the opposition of *Mars* and the *Sunne* ; abundance of ill weather, and some person or other, soldier or great man may breake his thigh, or his right arme : Many *Mercurian* Scribes and money- Receivers may be still found out and punished ; here's old flashing by fits. ----The yeare ends not our troubles without Gods great mercie. Will there not be much sea fighting this yeare ? Who may run away in *September* or *October* ? What man or City is frighted in *December* ? --- Neare to the times limited by me will the most memorable accidents of this yeare happen, almost a miraculous accident, greater then hath hapned this many a yeare, will either happen in the end of this or beginning of the next. I have been sparing to write any thing of the West of *England*, the unluckie surrender of *Bristol* having prolonged our troubles : but as it was unfortunately lost, so it may as opportunely be recovered by a more noble hand : Nor doe I meddle with a principall City or Town that will be in danger of firing ; or with some others to be sieged, taken and plundered : I pretermit many judgements which might have set out this discourse, I conclude the whole in few words.

A troubled and divided Court :

An afflicted Kingdome.

A City neare a great plague, yet doe I not find out this to be a yeare of much plague in *London* ; there are many Cities and Townes may precede us in this misfortune, We hasten and make easie passage.

I leave, for I must not.

France may find worke at home : an opportunity is expected.

Scotland must scuffle ; matters are not ripe.

Spaine and the noble *Austrian* Family are sinking, but not totally.

The united *Provinces* had need of good advise, &c.

Italy will have much adoe to make up breaches.

The *Hungarians* and *Transylvanians* will rise in Armes.

Poland may feare, and expect the *Tartar*.

Russia Wologda will be engaged.

The *Swede* will have both hands full.

Denmarke, it seemes may remember *Tychos* prediction.

Ireland will fall into discontent : and *Wales* will unwillingly be drawne to farther service. Poore *Wales*;

This is all I have thought fit to commit to print, for this yeare, 1644. here's lesse then I could have delivered, more I durst not, the key is easily found by the judicious : it's no more mine but the worlds, to which I commit it.

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The Weekly Account²⁸ Num. 41.

June, 12.

Containing.

Certain Speciall and Remarkable PASSAGES From both Houses of PARLIAMENT, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

1. A true Relation of the Earle of Wa-wicks taking of a great Prize at Sea of Silver, Armes, and Ammunition, which were going to Excester.
2. The last news from the Leaguer at York, with the manner of their storming the City, the Enemies firing part of the Suburbs, and the Earle of Manchester taking one part thereof, together with the taking of a great Fort, and the Kings Manor House.
3. Of the Earle of Essex His marching Westwards to Salisbury, and what his designe is.
4. Sir William Wallers pursuing the Kings Forces near Worcester, and taking of a Major, and divers other Prisoners: As also the taking of Tewksbury, with great store of Powder and Armes. And the besieging of Shudley Castle.

From Wednesday the 5. of June, to Wednesday the 12. of the same. 1644.

Published according to Order, for fuller satisfaction.

London, Printed by Bernard Alsop.

Wednesday the 5. of June.

He Close of my last Weeks Account, was the Intelligence from Oxford, whereby I certified you that His Majesty and the Prince were both there, and that His Excellency the Earle of Essex was approached near unto the Town, the truth whereof, His Majesties marching away (or rather flight from thence) hath since sufficiently demonstrated to the world. In which business, there is something more observable, then hath already been related by any publike pen: For *Aulicus* perswaded his Majesty (even to his death) that His Forces had ever the better abroad, and



that the Parliaments Forces were unable to come within five miles of the City of Oxford; but when His Majesty, by the noise of our Muskets and Ordnance within a mile of the Towne, which really proclaimed, that (as well in this as in many other things) His Majesty had been infinitely deluded, some were of opinion that he would have hearkened to the advice of his great Councell of Parliament, it appearing that the Anti-Parliament and the Cabinet Councils, with the severall other factions that frequented the Court, had eyther wilfully deceived his Majesty, or else their Councils (with *Achitophels*) were like to be brought to naught, yet such strong influence had these Saturnicall Planets upon the bright raise of our *Sol*, that they poss him away, and will allow him no longer time to ruminate with himselfe of By-past businesses; and as a good encouragement to others, and just requitall to those that have already taken up Armes with the English Papists, and Irish Rebels against the Parliament, their Forces must be all drawn out, and two or three Regiments placed in *Batalia*, and while they were sacrificing their lives, the rest of their forces were drawne away towards *Burford*, which is about 15. miles beyond Oxford, their number consisting (as it is reported) of about four or five thousand Horse and Foot, besides carriages, and twenty Coaches with female Luggage.

Sir *William Waller* pursued after, and the same night marched to *Whirney*, within five miles of the Royall Army, and His Excellency the Earle of *Essex* also pursued after him in another line, yet so that he could conveniently joyne (if occasion were) with Sir *William Waller*.

Letters out of Scotland to the Scots Commissioners here, do intimate thus much; That the combustion raised by the *Marquisse of Huntley* and his complices is well appeased, for the said *Marquis* being at *Aberdeen*, the *Marquesse of Argyle*, with a strong Brigade of commanded men drew thither, but before they came, *Huntley* with his confederates were fled from thence into severall Castles and places of defence, where they stood upon their guard, whereupon the *Marquesse of Argyle* divided his Forces to lay sledge against these Castles, and a Declaration was made, that if the Soldiers yeelded not within four and twenty houres, they should be proceeded against as Traitors

Traitors and Enemies to the State; and hereupon the major part of them fled away; and the rest refused to fight. The Marquesse of Huntley himselfe, and two other Lords were taken, but upon the ingagement of his honour, he obtained his liberty for four and twenty houres, in which time he made an escape, and was not retaken at the writing of these Letters, *May, 24. ultimo.*

The principall businesses which were this day agitated in the Parliament were these; The receiving of a report from a Committee appointed to consider of the freedome of Trade for exporting of Norwich Stuffles, Bayes, Stockins, &c. But by reason the matter was not fully ripened for the grounding of an Order therein; it was recommended.

The debating on, and sending up to the Lords, two Ordinances of great concernment, *viz.* An Ordinance for the excluding for ever out of this Parliament, such Members as have deserted the House, which together with an Ordinance for the better regulating the Committee of both Kingdoms, were sent by a Message to the Lords for their concurrence.

The reading of a Petition in the name of the Inhabitants of the Towne of Bedford, wherein they shewed their zeale to the Parliament, and their desire to be protected by them against the Insolencies of the late united friends and utter Enemies to the Kingdome the English Cavaliers, and the Irish Rebels, and therefore humbly desired that their fortifications might stand, and a Garrison appointed for the Town, but by reason the Petitioners came for audience, as the House was rising, the debate thereof was referred till another time.

Thursday.

This day the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought againe to the Barre of the House of Peeres, and it is thought that after two or three dayes more of Triall, he will come to judgement, and so be sent to the ——— Tower againe, if it be thought fitting. The matter in charge against him this day, was a branch of the seventh Originall Article, concerning his setting up Popish and blasphemous Pictures and Images in his owne Chappell, and his Majesties Chappell also, whereof I gave you a hint the last time he was upon his

Trial before this. The chief matter which was new in this days proceedings, was the Popish Ceremonies which he caused to be used in the Church, which brought Priests and Ceremonies to frequent His Majesties owne Chappell at White-Hall, as appeared by the Confession of Doctor *Brown*, one of his Chaplaines, when he came from kneeling before the Crucifixe upon the Altar.

The malitious and cruell persecution of those that refused to yeild obedience to the Discipline which his little Holinesse had brought into the Church, was also fully proved; unto which I should adde, a notable testimony of Doctor *Peasley*, who having written a Book against Popish pictures and Images, Sec. used by the Papists; the Arch-Bishop puts that out and makes it, Idolatrous Images used by the Heathen.

This day the newes of His Majesties being gone from Oxford was confirmed by Master *Nichols* a Member of the House of Commons, that came from the Lord Generall: That the Prince was gone with His Majestie, but the Duke of York was at Oxford: That it was affirmed by some that came from thence, that they are generally in a great discontent, by reason of His Majesties departure thence, Salt and other necessities (without which a siege cannot hold out long) are very scarce in Oxford, and that about 2300. men, with the Town-fmed and Schollers, are left there to maintain that place.

The consideration whereof, together with the necessity of blocking up those forces that they may not spoil and rob the Country, begate a debate in the House about making choise of an able person, that the Kingdome might confide in, for the commanding of certain forces to be sent into those parts, as also of the way and meanes for the speedy gathering together such a body of horse and foot, as through Gods blessing might be able to do the worke in a short time. And it was agreed, that Sergeant Major *Browne* should have the command of these Forces and ordered that an Ordinance of Parliament should be drawn up for that purpose.

Friday.

By Letters out of Leicestershire we understand, that Sir *John Gell* was lately at Ashby de la Zouch, and got about 70. horse from the Enemy, and that it might appeare that they had been in the midst of the Town, they made the Crosse three steps lower.

By other Letters out of Staffordshire dated *June 3.* It is certified that the Earle of Denbigh did remain before Dudley Castle, that some of his men going out upon a party, tooke two of the enemies Scouts, which came from Bridgenorth, who being examined, confessed that there is but a small Garrison in that town, but they expected a supply of Irish Rebels from Shrewsbury, and some more Welshmen.

Sir *William Brereton* advanced this Week towards his charge in Cheshire, the Parliament having made him Commander in chief of all the Forces raised within

within those associated Countreies for the King and Parliament. Giving him power to leade an Army into any of those Countreies, and to make Colonels and all other Officers, incident to the well ordering of his Forces. To execute Martiall law, and all other things, according to the Discipline exercised by the Earle of Essex, &c.

This day at a Common Concell in London, a Committee from the Parliament made known the sence of the House, for the sending of Forces out of the City against Greenland house, and to beleaguer Oxford, declaring the desire of the House, that two Regiments might be drawn out of the City upon that design, but that the City should not be wholly burthened with this Work, the House have thought upon other fit wayes for the raising of men and horse in severall Countreies adjacent, and within the Association of Buckingham, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire,

Saturday.

Sergeant Major *Brymme* Ordinance was read in the House, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, which is to this effect, viz. That the Lords and Commons do constitute and appoint Sergeant Major Generall *Brymme* to be Sergeant Major Generall of all the Forces raised and employed by authority of Parliament, for the reducing of the City of Oxford, the Towne and Castle of Wallingford, the Fort of Greenland house, and the Town and Castle of Banbury. As also Sergeant Major Generall of the forces of the Countreies of Oxford, Berks. and Buckingham, and of the Forces of the City of Oxford, to serve for the defence of the King and Parliament and Kingdome, for this present expedition. Giving him leave to command, lead and conduct the same thro any part of the said Countreies, or parts adjacent, or in the absence of the Earle of Essex, as Major Generall to do any act or thing as he in his judgement shall think fit for the defence and security thereof. And also to draw forth of the said Countreies such well affected souldiers, as will follow him for the service aforesaid. Giving him likewise authority to nominate and appoint all such Officers as shall be by him thought requisite, for the better conduct of the said Forces. And to call a Councell of Warre, and to heare and determine all and every crime and offence committed by any Officer or Soldier under his Command. And to do any other thing whatsoever, for the infesting and destroying of the Enemy in those parts, and reducing those places to the obedience of the King and Parliament, following from time to time such orders and directions as he shall receive from both Houses of Parliament, the Committee of both Kingdomes, or the Earle of Essex or any of them.

Captain *Temple*, who did lately such brave service at Ifflip, is commanded away with his Troop, also many Dragoons from Kent, Surrey, and Alisbury, with a Regiment of horse, and two of foot out of the City, besides 400. Foot from Windsor, are already before Greenland house.

A motion was made in the House, that two thousand pound of the money belonging to the Earle of Roxborough, which was found in St. James house, should be employed towards the setting out of the London forces upon the Expedition aforesaid, and some Order was made therein.

The Intelligence this day from the Lord Generals Army was, that His Majesty was gone to *Worcester*, and Sir *William Waller* pursuing after him, and his Excellency was at *Farrington*, and intended to march into the *West*. It was also reported, that the Earle of *Denbigh* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, were to raise their Siege at *Dudley Castle*, and to joyn with Sir *William Waller* in pursuing the Kings Forces, which as it is conceived, would not stay before they came at *Shrewsbury*.

Munday.

By Letters from the Leaguer before *York* it was signified, that the Earle of *Manchester* is joyned with the Lord *Fairfax*, and Collonel *Lesley*: that they raised a Battery against the City, and by storming of it, forced their passage into the Suburbs of the City, in two severall places: that the Enemy have burnt some part of the Suburbs, and would have fired them all, if they had not been prevented by our forces: that our forces have intrenched themselves by the very walles of the City, and it is thought it will be taken within few days.

Divers other Letters of welcome newes came this day to the House, amongst which this is none of the least: That Collonel *Massey* hath slain upon the Enemy at *Tewkesbury*, and taken divers prisoners, with one Major, one Captain, one Lieutenant, and other Officers, twenty Barrells of Powder, three hundred Pikes, besides Armes, with a great quantity of Match and other Ammunition.

By Letters from the Earle of *Warwicke* it is certified, that he hath taken a Spanish ship of a very great prize, by estimate worth eight thousand pounds at least, having in her good store of Bullion, powder, Armes, and other rich treasure, which was going for *Exeter*, and that she is now comming for *London*.

Ordered that one tunne of Match, and ten Barrells of powder, should be sent for a supply to the Garrison at *Alisbury*.

Yesterday 31. Cavaliers that were taken near *Oxford*, were brought up to *London*, and committed to custody.

From *Lynn* we have received Intelligence by Letters dated the 30. of *May*, and others of the first of *June*: That the Soldiers and Inhabitants thereof have bravely defended themselves; and being lately driven to two dayes victuals, and not knowing which way to be relieved, they resolved to break through the enemy, and either dye like men, then live like slaves under those Atheists and Tyrants that oppose them. But it pleased God to send the Earle

of *Warwicke* unto them in that great streight, who supplied them with a good quantity of Bread, Fish, Powder, Match, Bullets, and other necessaries; and sent three hundred Sea-men, and four hundred pounds worth of Corne, for which my Lord disbursed money out of his own Purse, to save that poor town, who stood out so bravely against the enemy, and especially in opposition to the bloody Irish (whom His Majesty hath pleased to entitle His beloved Subjects) in action against the Town: and the valiant Sea-men that went a shore being eye witnesses of their valour, and of the great extremities they were in for want of cloathes, Rockins, and shoes, when they came on board againe, sent the poor soldiers what Boots, shooes, and stockins they could spare, and also spared them somewhat out of their own daily allowance of provisions what they could with convenience; and all that they had saved as an overplus of their former provisions, that they sent unto them: And also three hundred of them at the Command of the Earle of Warwicke, went freely into the town to their assistance, who were designed to keepe the Line, while fixe hundred of the town sallied out, but the enemy with great courage stormed the town, at the same time they intended to make a salley, and were bravely received by the town, and beaten off with the losse of near four hundred men slain on the place, and about eight of the Townesmen lost; on the enemies side of note was slaine the *Tuesday* before, Captain *Sombers*, who had on him the Lord *Pease*'s Armour, Captain *Ashen* was also taken prisoner, and sent aboard the ship: At this instant, when they stormed the town the last time, when so many were slaine, the Earle of Warwicke sent out long Boats, four or five miles below the town, towards Bidport, as if he would have landed them there; and thereby drew off a good part of the enemies horse and foot, to attend their pretended landing, whereby the defendants might the more easily make good the town. The women filled the Bandaliers with powder, whilst the souldiers fought; and one woman discharged a Musket sixteen times in the face of the enemy.

And though severall women had their Armes shot off with Chaine-shot, yet the rest of the women continued in assisting those that made up the Work, which the enemy battered downe.

And another thing in this skirmish was very observable; For Captain *Davies*, who maintained the Fort near the Cub; had but four shot a piece round to his Sacre, at the beginning of the storme, and shot continually, and yet had fourteen round when the storm ended; which was thus; the enemy shot Sacre shot against his Work, and so he made use of the Bullets the enemy sent him.

By Letters of the sixth and seventh of *June*, His Excellency writes that he is marched towards Salisbury, and so into the West to relieve *Dymock*, which he will endeavour to performe with all expedition.

Tuesday,

By Letters from the Lord Generals Army it was certified, that His Excellency was upon his march Westwards, and this night would be at Salisbury, his first designe is thought to be for the relieving of Lyme, from whence it is conceived that he will make his approach to Excester, and attend the day of her Majesties Purification after her lying in there.

Sir *Arthur Haslerig* came yesterday to Towne, and hath given an account of Sir *William Wallers* pursuing His Majesties Forces towards Worcester, and falling upon their Quarters near Broadway, tooke a Major and severall prisoners, and that Sir *William Waller* marched from Stow the old towards Gloucester, to joyne with the valiant Collonel *Massey*, and by the way took occasion to lay siege against Shudley Castle. By some private Letters this day it was certified, that Shudley Castle was taken by the Parliaments forces, the certainty therof and the prisoners taken, will shortly be known; but no Letters thereof are yet come to the House.

Prince *Rupert* we hear is at Leverpoole, and hath little encouragement to march any further Northwards, for it is thought that the next newes from York will be that it is taken; for besides what is before related, we have further Intelligence this day, that our Forces have taken one of the best Forts, and the Kings Mannor House, which joynes to the Wallies of the City.

The Bishop of Canterbury being brought againe this day to the Barre, he began to make some defence to some part of the Charge already proved against him concerning Popery, &c. alledging that Sir *Henry Mildmay* told him that he was ill spoken of at Rome, and Sir *Henry* being examined hereupon, declared that he heard some speak well of him there, and others very ill, and being desired if he knew the reason of their different opinions of him, he said that he did labor to finde out the cause, and they gave him this reason. That he seemed at too great and supream power in this Kingdome. And others spake well of him, because he managed the government of the Church of England, near to the Government of the Church of Rome. One Mr. *Challenger* having likewise been at Rome, testified that amongst the principall Intelligencers there, it was confirmed that the Bishop of Canterbury was a Papist, and a promoter of Popery, and for that purpose they used a Prayer, desiring Almighty God to blesse and prosper his holy intentions.

Then Sergeant *Wild* urged another branch of the seventh Article against him, concerning the Popish Ceremonies he exercised at the consecrating of Churches and Chappels, as pericularly the Church of St. Giles in the Fields, and Creed Church London; It being proved that when he came near the Church dore, these words were used; *Open ye the everlasting Gates, that the King of Glory may come in*, and then the dore were thrown open, and dust thrown in to the Ayre, &c. Many other things were laid to his charge, which for want of room I am forced to leave for other pens to give you satisfaction therein.

F I N I S,

P R

A true
and confessi
Newington
lies in prison
Whitsonday
by the eares
Gods and it
against she
from she

If t
C

[illegible]

PROPHETS

OR,

A true Relation of the examination,
and confession, of *Reasmond Bateman*, of *St. Mary's* at
Newington in *Southwark*, who was apprehended and now
lies in prison for saying if a Peace were not between this and
Whitsonday he would pluck some of the Lord in Parliament, out
by the eares and stab'd them, also that he said he is the Son of
Gods and if they put him to death he should and would rise
again the third day, and thus for a certaine he hath fasted
from the 13 of *May*, till the 7 of *June*, and so continues
in Newprison at *Clackwell*.

If to beleewe your faith be weak,
Come se the man and heare him speake,



June 12th 1644

LONDON, Printed by *John Hammond*.

PROPHETS

BEWARE OF FALSE

OR

A true Relation of the Examination,

and Confession of Robert Bacon, of St. Mary's, in
Newgate, in London, who was apprehended and now
lives in prison, saying that there were not between him and
William, he would have some of the Lord in Parliament, or
by the same means, also that he said he is the son of
God, and if they put him to death he should and would rise
again the third day, and that for a reward he had killed
down the King's men, and the King's men, and so continued
in his confession in Court.

to be a great deal to be made
to the man and have him speak,



LONDON, Printed by John Sturges

forced to leave for other pens to give you satisfaction
FINIS,

Discription of the MAN, &c.



THIS *Reverend* *Burgh* was borne at *Perth* in the County *Northampton*, Anno Dom. 1601, by profession a day Labourer, having (at this present) a Wife and a Child in the Parish of *Saint Margarets* *Newington* in *South* *Wales*. his Complexion and Beard red, his stature indifferent betwene short and tall, his Apparell (at this present,) shewing him to be a man of no extraordinary quality: his behaviour is extreme rude, sile, stnick and barbarous Steele, as it were, with a stupid impudency (and selfe confidence) as appears plainly to all that discourse with him, for it is cleere (to the industrious hearer) that if he can reaile (at all,) it is but every little: yet two men of great Literature and Quality both of the *Clergy* and the *Lay*, (that examine him about his Blasphemous opinions,) he will satisfactorily, with unpareled Petulency say, that it is lost Labour for him to tell them of the Scripture, for none but himselfe in the world knowes the sence and meaning of it but the relation of this belongs to the next division (concerning his opinions) to which I will briefly halting concluding this, first (according to my promise) with the cause of his commitment to prison, which is shorable to speak, for he saies (with great alowity) he would kill good LORD I beseech you protect them from danger.

Some certaine Lords of the *PARLIAMENT*, when he came into Prison (which was on Monday *May* the 17.) he seemed to be drunke, (by all there present,) and therefore to prevent misdemeanors, he was fet (with both his feete) in the stocks, thinking that by this punishment he would returne to his wits retract

his wicked words (though) the hopefull expectation of Clemency
and pardon, but he on the next day (and even since) in stead
of sorrow for his words did (and still doth) undauntedly and obdura-
ly defended his damnable intencion, persevering still in speaking
detestable and villinous speeches, not fit by any Christian to be re-
lated no more of this but (to proceed in his description) it is to hu-
man reason a most miraculous and all-together impossible thing
that a man should as he hath (by most certaine Testimonies, and
if neede requier dopositions) of seven or eight men who are (and
have berne) not onely daily nightly, and hourly, but also moneth-
ly, with him. He hath lived from the 23 of May afforesaid to this
present June 7. (the date of this present writing) and G O D
knowes how long he may live so (for he saith he doth not without
the eating of any manner of food, and yet) at this instant every
way it lusty strong & chearefull is before saying he felt no hunger
as he did the same or (rather the new) May after he came into the
Prison, thus much concerning the first division of the Man.

Second division his Blasphemyns in opinions which are so many
and severall, (he quotidianly or rather almost howerly adding and
changing that to set downe all exactly were to make a Divinall of
one and twenty dayes Phantasies, that those to shew some thing of
a story scarce possible to be presently related I will shortly
epitomize what I can remember, and trust in the houre will justifie
for me of his stolid impudencie and most abominable blasphemyns
opinions such as I have at sundry times and equerly collected
from his examination be fore persons of good Learning & Quality.

1. Impious in one examination he said in to selfe which was
that he said he was 444 the first man and he was staine from the
beginning of the World, and shall be staine againe (for he says
that he knoweth he shall be hanged very shortly) and then there
shall be peace in England (if he speake true I would he were hanged
quickly as a good Woman answered him) but he saies that on the
third day he shall rise againe and walke about and thereby never to
dye againe a Gentlemen asked him how he knew that was of his
opinion he answered I none in the world but himselfe and King
Charles who are both spiers onely this difference that (saith he) I
am as was Abraham, and the King as Charles at my sonnes Iack he
was further asked another time how long he did thinke he should
continue this faith he answered I forty dayes and forty nights, and

may be more, but at the end of his sitting he should be hanged
(as afore said) trancelared and then there would be peace in the
Land, another demanded of him whence he drew his opinions, (out
of the Scripture quoth he ?) what part (said the oponent) in the
twenty first Chapter of the Booke of *Genises* quoth he ? and from
thence he went on with a d'bolicall narration of *Iohn the Baptist* and
of *Christ* which (oh horrible dialphemus) he said is not come in
substance but is shadow. of all which muchristian a seltion being re-
cited partation he to'd the Gentelman that if he should shew
him Scripture for it, they could not understand it nor any man but
himselfe who alone had the Holy Ghost with him. one thinge, let
me not omit to tell you (whilst it is in my memory and which
I will send you my neemen's hearafte in the due Place,) when
he came to see (and heare) I am, he will presently before hee
hearken any thing (as they would have him) have recourse to the
Words of his o'd Passion *Judas* what wilt thou give me, for he is
yet a thamed most silently being related in the confidence of
exhorting to say Ie not say any thing for nothing pay and he say
O wise Prophet or rather Prophet gatherer but I must judge of
him hearafte. ; it were both tedious and impossible to tell you all
he to' to so many severall sorts of People that hourly flocke unto
him, for as I said before, he doth so change and so adde (from his
first principles) that he hath a new saying for every new
Company. an' so shomtable y' impudent he is growne.) in his
industry that whatsoever he saith you must not contradict, if you
do be being unable to defend his Argument retreats to his com-
mon position you cannot understand mee if I should tell you, and
thus is it that you shall get out of him; (whatsoever is objected a-
gainst him.) Counsell him (as many good people have done,) to
leave God and leave this life, and shew for pardon upon recantation
of his errors, then you do (as it were) use oyle to quench fire for he
seemes yet at advice and heyes, y' are no capable of that which he
meanes and knowes. he best learned men in the Land not expected
he is so foolish if you consider in these delirion that he seemes to
delit nothing sooner then hanging the sooner the better. y' I quoth
a Woman to him, if then we might have Peace now I remember
this was mentioned before, but it is no greater matter for he talks
of it off that he seemes at have more minde to it then heaven
best him from better forerance, on Sat. day fall in the afternoon some
of

of his fellow prisoners in the hearing were talking with him about
this Arguments, &c.

That about nine yeares hence he said all men and women must
first fall as he do h now and after that they shall die and come after
rise againe and live some an hundred and twenty yeares
without eating or and substance and that some others should
never die but live everlastingly on the earth as he shall three dayes
after he is hanged then it was demanded of him what he thought of
of the general judgement day he answered it would come in the in-
terim of thole nine yeares for do you not see quoth he that it is com-
ming neere to this present, when the Father fights against the Son
and Son against the Father, &c. thus perflumeth this ignorant fellow
to talke of these misteries which the eternall wisdome of the father
(as he was man) nor the Angels in Heaven neither can nor could set
downe the time when I thinke it is high time to leave him and his
blasphemous follies to the mercy any judgement of GOD and our
superiours. and according to my promise and capacity I will send
my judgement upon him in the ensuing third and last division and
make and end of the story.

The third upon him &c. with this in brief aluding to what you
have heard of his saying & doings, that he is an absolute imposture
and as far to be credited as a true prophet or servant of GOD, as
were immediate foure Fathers *Hacker*, *Atherington* and *Copinger*,
Bull, with his Brother *Furness* who were both Weavers, about
foure five or six yeares sence he that in not with me is against me
saith Christ but this man is not perfectly with Christ but rather
a fore runner of Antichrist who shall deny Christ to be come in the
flesh and he said as I told you before that Christ is not come in sub-
stance but in shadow therefore he can neither be true prophet nor
true Christian moreover by the true you may judge the true, and
the Man by his words and workes he is easily discerned to be a false
Prophet. if he will be called a Prophet being by nature extreme
proud and averitious as well appears by the promise and conceit
lust of women which was a point which I forgot to tell you
before he saith that no woman that commits adultery commits sin
against GOD or an offence against man and divers other religious and
unchristian words he utters to his audience: that I will not mar-
shall pure paper with all by which it is evident that he is not a man

inspired with the Holy Ghost, as he most aregantly saith, but rather
a Monster poss'd with anuncleane lying spires; for briefly to avoid
all further contrueries in this point, we are promised at the end of
the World, no true prophes for we ought to chere and stick close
to the Doctrine of faith already receiued, but on the contrary wee
we warned to beware of false Prophets, therefore if any man or An-
gel from Heaven (and the Diuill can, by Gods permission trans-
forme himselfe into an Angel of light, should teach us any other
Doctrine then what we haue been taught from the b-gining of our
faith let him be an Achemy, therefore this pernitious imposture
holding and deuolging such opinions afore mention'd quite repug-
nant to Christ and his true Gospel iudge not Christian Reader atwile
of me if I iudge and condemne him and all such brave like humores
for pseudo. prophets who forsaking the true Spire which from the
beginning hath been the Instruder of the true Church to teach
and to leade her unto all truth by Gods highly provoked iudgment
are g'uen over unto a Reprobate sence, to beleeve all manner of Lies,
Dreames, Deisions and Fantasies, which the Diuill that arch Lier
shall direct unto them. now concerning this miracle of obtaining
from foode without impaying strength changing of eyes or con-
tinuance and not as yet feeling hunger as he saith. I confesse it is be-
yond my Capasety, or the most learned Philosopher or Phisition
in the Kingdome, to render and naturall reason of it. But a French
Gentleman said that in his Countrey he hath known the like and he
said it is a particular humor in a man whi h in our languish we call
Papudriace which is a self conceite, some upon one humor some
upon another, some obtaining from foode some from sleape, a third
from coming not neare the fire in the coldest weather, all this to
wine admiration and populer wonder, the enemy of mankind,
lending them force to doe it, as he is said to be God Ape, so his
despise in such things will seeme to immitate the dearest and nearest
Servants of God, see the south sayer of Egypt counterfeted the su-
pernaturall marcies of *Moses*, so long as Diuine power would suffer
it. So *Simon Magus* contended with *Simon Peter* till his charme
with his necke were broken. so this *Theasurall imposture* makes
no question but as the holy Prophet *Elias* our blessed Saviour
fasted forty dayes and forty nights he would presume by his wick-
ed Spires assistance to doe the like, unlesse the Hangman which he
seemes so earnestly to wish for to breake his neck in the iurume

this gentle Christian Reader I have according to promise sent
from this house of care a short and breuie epitomy of a Subiect re-
quiring a longer exposition but now I thinke as a little of a bird matter
is enough if not so much I confesse the multitude of people coming
hewerly to him was the spare of myse much treasure to be displayed in
this sange raile.

A Postscript of some things more

then was promised

IT is to you fond People whome I write,
whose itching eares, and hungry appetite,
After new fangles, new opinions and
This new (invented) Setts (bane of the Land
who come to see, heare, and apleade this knave
whose fasting feasts your fancies, as I have,
(with wonder) heares cheifely the same Setts.
And many simple men to these annex,
That his selfe conceits such Prophets that bee
(For many) foemes what they would haue him be,
They le swallow downe his blasphemyes descortes
And hier him with expence of their one perles
And what an age is this which we now liue in,
Are we true christians, rather leues or Heathen,
When Christ his word, and Doctrine is deparsed
Shall we hope by Christ ere to be saved?
Count in dede such a man, may pay him fort
As though his blasphemy to us were sport
All those which nothing eue halle iure and baine,
Judge Reader is this not a Holy man?

FINIS

An Exact

30

RELATION

Of the Siege before

Y^KORK E:

Of the taking of the Suburbs, and of the Approaches made within 40. yards of the Walls: Of the taking of the Kings Man- nor house there : And how the Associated forces of *Essex*, *Suffolk*, &c. under the Earle of *Manchester*, have severall times repulsed the Enemy, and preserved some part of the Suburbs from being consumed with fire.

As it is sent in severall Letters, dated at the Leaguer before York, the 6. and 7. of June.

Published by Authority.

London Printed for R. White. June 12. 1644.

An Act

RELATION

OF THE

YORK

Of the ... of the ...
the ... of the ...
the ... of the ...
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As it is ...
York ...

Printed by ...

London Printed for R. Waller June 1711



A Letter from the Leaguer before York, the sixth of June, 1644.

Since my last by the Post the 30. of May last, Prince *Rupert* hath taken *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, wherein there were a thousand five hundred Club-men, and Colonell *Rigby* with 2000. Armed men drawne from the Siege of *Latham*, Colonell *Rigby* himselfe who is come hither saith that he lost there five barrells of Powder, two Drakes, and other Ammunition, and not 200. men in all kild, most of the rest saving themselves by flight; but he conceives he lost neere 500. Armes, the vulgar report gives the losse to be greater; howsoever he is now about to rally his scattered men, and hopes to get them shortly together. Prince *Ruperts* forces range over a great part of *Lancashire*, but his principall quarter is at *Wiggon*, and to that Towne he drawes the forces raised by the Commission of Array: His Army increases by the dependants of the Earle of *Darby*, and the Popish Gentry there, that do all flock to him, and by the addition of Generall *Gorings* forces, who came to him on Monday last at *Berry*; and then it was also believed, that he intended presently to come to *York* to raise the Siege: But this day the 6. of June, Sir *John Meldrum*, writes that he conceives his forces not to exceed ten thousand men, and that they bend Southwards, as he thinkes, to take *Warrington*, and *Liverpoole*: but it is thought he will march to meet the King, if he once passe South out of *Lancashire*.

This day also Letters were intercepted from Sir *Philip Musgrave* to Prince *Rupert*, whereby I perceive *Rupert* hath sent for him, and all his forces of *Westmerland*, and *Cumberland*; which Sir *Philip* promisseth to performe, but not suddenly.

In *Lancashire* there are Garrisons of good strength, in *Warington*, *Liverpoole*, and *Lancaster*; and an Army of seven or 8000. Armed men in *Manchester*, where Sir *John Meldrum* resides, and hath the command of all the Country; and the Parliaments ships lately come to *Liverpoole* do much encourage the Souldiers there; so that I do not give *Lancashire* for lost, though I am perswaded *Rupert* will pillage the Country sore, and increase his Army; neither of which can be prevented without a greater inconvenience.

From Bishoprick we hear that all the forces of the enemy are retreated into *Newcastle* (the Troops of *Clavering* excepted, that continue yet at *Durham*) which gives some assurance of the publique report of the Lord *Calendars* being at *Alnewick*.

The third of *June* our forces tooke *Walton-hall* neer *Wakefield*, and in it Sir *Francis Wortley*, the elder, the first incendiarie in this County, that publicly engaged a party for the King, against the Parliament, and 120. souldiers with him, who yeilded themselves prisoners after they had kild severall of our men.

And third of *June* in the night, 60. horse sent by Sir *Hugh Cholmley* from *Scarborough* came to *Buttercram*, where Mr. *Henry Darley* lodged; and the Draw-bridge being accidentally let down that night, they entred, and took him in bed, and carried him prisoner to *Scarborough*.

On

On Monday the third of June the Earle of Manchester drew to the Leaguer at Forke, about 6000. foot and a thousand horse, and twelve field pieces, and his men are quartered before Bowdoin barre, and that side towards Chifon, they are very brave souldiers, and every day fall upon some part, and beat the enemy.

And now having these forces added to our other Armies, the enemy is shut up far closer then before: and the Generals consult how the work may be made short with least losse of their men: and yesternight being June the fifth, they have caused a work to be raised for a battery, upon a hill neer Walm-gate, where there are four pieces of battery already planted, that have played all this afternoone upon the Castle, Tower, and Towne; and they from the Town have sent us at least an hundred Bullets from severall Platformes in the Towne, but they have done us very little hurt, not above one man killed, and what execution our Ordinance do in the City we cannot yet tell; But we are getting more pieces up to our new worke, which we know hath already put them into a very great fear, for this day they have fired most part of the Suburbs, and drawne their people into the Town; our men fall into the Suburbs and beat them in when they Sally out either to fire houses or fetch in goods, but whilest they skirmish the fire consumes the houses, they wil not suffer our men to quench it, for if the houses could have been saved they would have been a great shelter for our men in their approaches.

And the Suburb without Bowdoin, where there were many faire houses, being fired, the E. of Manchester's men neverthelesse entred, and beat in the enemy

this morning, and have saved much of the houses from the fire, and doe gallery through them close to the walls, so that it is to be hoped, that unlesse succours come speedily to them, the Town will be taken or yielded. And to prevent Prince *Ruperts* comming, the most part of our horse and dragooneers are laid towards *Lancashire*, who if they be not able to beat him back, yet will at least stop his march untill these Armies be drawne up to them, and then they will, being all together, be able to fight with all the forces the King hath on the north side of *Trent*, if God give his blessing, which we all pray for.

There is a bridge made of boats over the *Ouse* in *Cliftonings*, that the Armies may on a sudden send succour one to another.

The first of *June*, the Scots forces fetched a great many cattell and horses from the enemy neere *Milegate barre*, and kild many both horse and foot of the enemy, I heare they left four and thirty dead, and brought away thirty prisoners, but all sore wounded.

And yesterday *June* the 5. the Earle of *Manchesters* men fell on neere *Valm-gate*, and took *Saint Nicholas Church*, but disferred it againe when they had gotten away eighty head of cattell from the enemy: and there is no day passeth but something is done worthy commendations, for our men are full of courage, and desire to fall upon the Town whensoever the Generalls thinke it fit to command them: *Sandall Castle* neere *Vakefield* was surrendred yesterday.

June the sixth, 1644. Leaguer before York.

Another Letter from the Leaguer before York, June 7. eleven a Clock at noon.

Every day produces novelties, at present thus, Upon Wednesday night last, was a battery made at the Windmil betwixt York and Lestington, about eight score distant from the Walls, and five piece of great Ordnance yesterday placed in it, and divers shots made into the City, which have made visible batteries, both in the Walls, Cliffords Tower, and other houses, another battery was yesterday got at S. Lawrence Church, made within the Church-yard next Wombgate, about fifty yards from the gate, and here, and in the Church, and houses, there are about 3000. of our men.

My Lord Eglington with 4000. Scots yesterday entred Gilligate, Marygate, and Mary Tower, & have made a passage into the Manor under ground: This last night a strong party sallied out of the City, and fell upon his men to beat them back, but could not prevaile, for 7000. of my Lo: Manchesters, and my Lord Fairfaxes men fell into Wombgate, and so diverted the enemy, and had a sore fight with them,

them, the losse hitherto, I have not heard on either side: The *Lp: Generall Loven* with his Regiment fell upon a strong Fort this last night, upon a hill, about eight score distant from Skeldergate posterne, and have taken it, and 120. men in it, whereof about 35. are brought in prisoners, the rest killed, hee lost some men in that service: and in this Fort, being very considerable, my *Lo.* intends to make a battery, and so from thence make shots at pleasure into Town, and I do believe to morrow, or the next day, they will Summon the City once more, and if not yeilded, then they may take the last farewell; for the Soldiers are mightily enraged, and I doubt will not be careful to distinguish persons. All this last night I saw great fires in three severall places of the City, much of the Suburbs was burned before, except such as our men have saved, and wee heare the enemy resolve to burn the City, rather then yeeld it, wee do hourly expect the issue.

*York Leaguer, 7. of June, at eleven
a Clock in noon.*

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REMONSTRANCE

OF THE

BARBAROUS CRUELITIES

AND

BLOODY MURDERS

COMMITTED

By the IRISH REBELS

Against the PROTESTANTS
in IRELAND*Both before and since the Cessation,*

COLLECTED

Out of the Records at DUBLIN,

by Thomas Morley, Gent.

Being the examinations of many who were eye-
witnesses of the same, and justified upon oath
by many thousands;

Presented to the whole Kingdome of
England, that thereby they may see the Rebels
inhumane dealings, prevent their pernicious practises,
relieve their poore brethrens necessities, and
fight for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

Published by speciall command and Authority.

London, Printed by E. G. 12 June. 1644.

REMEMBER THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS

IS THE SEED OF OUR FREEDOM

BY THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS

WE OBTAIN OUR FREEDOM

AND OUR LIBERTY

WE OBTAIN OUR FREEDOM

AND OUR LIBERTY

BEING THE EXAMINATION OF MANY WHO WERE

TRIALLED IN THE WHOLE KINGDOM OF

ENGLAND

IN THE YEAR 1534

PRINTED BY E. C. 1534





WE His Majesties Commissioners for the inquiry and examining of the losses and sufferings of the loyall subjects of the Kingdoms of Ireland by means of the present rebellion. Doe hereby certify all those whom it may concerne; That Tho: Morley of Coughes in the Kings County gent: by his examination upon oath lately taken before us deposed, that since the beginning of the present Rebellion, and by means thereof he hath bin and still is depriv'd, robbed, or dispoiled of his goods, chattells and estate, of the value and to his losse of one thousand ninety seven pounds ster. All which by direction from the right honorable the Lords Justices of the same Kingdom we certify under our hands from the City of Dublin this first day of January, 1643.

Henry Jones

Henry Brereton.

John Watton.

John Sterne;

Ex. per Tho. Waring.

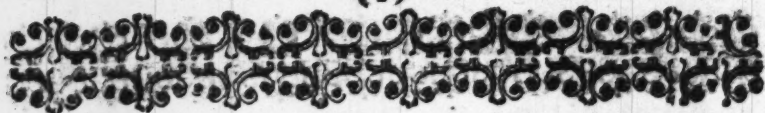
THEse are to certify that the bearer hereof, Thomas Morley Gent. having by means and occasion of this late Rebellion in Ireland, lost all his whole estate, was constrained upon the insurrection to flee to my Castle at Parson's Town alias Birr, in Com. Regis where he became a Trooper & was shot in his Majesties service so, that he was constrained to goe upon crutches for the space of eighteen months, or thereabouts. And now by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, and counsell is amongst the rest of my Troop disbanded without any pay, and is constrained to go for England to seek for reliefe, or else to starve; All which at his request I signify under my hand, this 18 day of March, Anno Dom. 1643.

William Parsons.

YOU and every of you, are hereby required to permit, and suffer the Bearer hereof Thomas Morley, and John Morley his Son, who were lately driven out of Ireland, and landed at the Port of Dover quietly to passe for London, without any of your lets, or molestations; And this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seale the first day of May, 1644.

WARWICK.

To all deputy Lieutenants, Colonells, Lieutenants
Colo. Capt. Commanders, and all other
Officers whom it may concerne.



A
Briefe Collection of some part of
 the foule Murthers and barbarous cruelties,
 committed by the traterous Rebels the Papists
 of severall Countie within the Kingdome
 of IRELAND.

And first of their Murthers and Cruelties

In the County of *Cavan*.

The witnesses.



Hirty persons at one time most barbarously murdered, and slayne our-right by the popish Rebels, and about 150. more cruelly wounded; so that Traces of blood issuing from their wounds, lay upon the high way 12 miles together in their flight. And many yong children were left and perished in the way, to the number

Adam Glover.

of 60. The Rebels vow, if any digged graves for them they should be buried therein themselves: so as many were left unburied and some hid in the bushes when they were dead, because their weak parents could carry them no further, nor bury them: and some were carried a great way before they durst bury them. And that one *Philip o'Rely* then and yet Shierffe of the County, relenting at their continued cruelties, his own son told him that if he did revolt from that action and authority; he ought to die and should surely be hanged.

Mary Sharp.

In the County of *Cavan*. *Anthony Sharp* being directed by *Hugh Brady* Gent. to leave his goods with him in trust, and promising to secure them for him from the other Rebels, when afterwards *Sharp* came for them, *Brady* in stead thereof, cut off his head.

Will. Bellis.

In the County of *Lomb*. Captaine *Dergis* a Rebell having robbed

bed him of his goods, and being desired to spare him somewhat of his own, he being sick, answered, he had 100 l. of the Kings Subsidy monies and 40 l. of the Bishop of *Dromors*, and all was too little for the Army; and so he going away was stript of all his cloathes, and getting into a bed, the Rebels set the house on fire, out of which he hardly escaped, and the rebels then hanged two Protestants.

In the County of *Fermanagh*. That Captaine *Mac Roy Gwire* Captaine *O'Donnelle* and other Rebels kild one of his Tenants, and at the least 30 English Protestants more and wounded, stript, and hurt so many more of the English as dwelt thereabouts: yet kild few out-right, but left them in ditches and other places mortally wounded, where they pined to death, the Rebels affirming their priest commanded them so to doe.

In the County of *Cavan*. *Phillip O'Reilly* and others promising to conduct the Protestants to the next County, and to secure their goods, they relying thereon put their old and weak people and children upon Cars, taking (by the Rebels liberty) some small reliefe with them. But before nine miles passed, an Army of their Souldiers came against them, and their Convoyes, without more money, would not help or protect them; but assisted the army to rob, strip, and wound them, so as 100 died outright, and many after: but at the beginning the Protestants were there neere two thousand young and old.

In the County of *Fermanagh*. To prove that very many, viz. 100 and above in the parish of *Drumully* are dead through hunger, and cold, since they were put out of their habitations, and divers able Protestants most cruelly and barbarously massacred and murdered.

In the County of *Fermanagh*. *Tho. Boinser* murdered in his wives armes, and many more also at severall times murdered.

Elliz. Ardwick, *Elliz. Coates*, *Elliz. Dewberry*, *Hugh Stokes*, *Will. Crosse*, *Anne Baid* her smock ripped down with a skeane. *Richard Watson*, *Abraham James*.

Burning of the Houses of Protestants, and of cruell usage of the popish Rebels.

One *Lund*, a man of 80. yeares old most barbarously murdered. Mr. *James* most barbarously murdered and after stript naked, fifteen protestants more slaine.

Mary Lofius had her husband quartered in her sight.

Elizabeth Massies Husband kild in her armes, and two children starved.

Nathanael Higginson, *Thomas Knowles*, *Rich. Braishagb.*

Richard Walker, says, 40 more were murder'd many wounded and 100 dead.

George Buterwick, *John Moreton* says, 18 Protestants were murdered at another time.

Robert Hancock, *Barbary Moreton*, *Will. Moreton*, *Agnes Machem*, *John Heys*, *Charles Short*.

John Bowser, *Barbary Maine*, *George Gascoine*.

Magret Wilson, *James prestick*, *Rich. Knowles*, *Eleanor James*, *Margaret Ferrymy*.

Mary Lofius, *Elliz. Massy*.

That

*Eliz. Bowser,
Margret Parkin.*

That by credible report of all the Towne, the Rebels boyld a yong child of a protestant to death in a caldron, or great kettle in the Church at *Newton*.

Mary Loftus.

Mary Loftus had her husband quartered and throwne into a River, and then the Rebels said it was good beefe.

Anne Cheesam.

In the County of *Armagh*. Protestants detained prisoners with the Rebels.

*Davy Williams,
Rich. Runchorn.*

In the *Kings County*. *Richard Warrins* wife and 5 children detained.

Will. Bickerdick.

In the County of *Fermanagh*. *Richard Sallyard* Gent. most cruelly murdered because he would not go to masse, and his wife wounded.

Jo. Smith a clerk
her husband,

In the County of *Dublin*. *Mistris Smithson* a ministers wife and her maide hanged up to death.

Is. Heyes & others

Mistris Dirrick Hubbert, and others robbed and murdered at the skirries by the Rebels, and all the Protestants there also robbed, other foule murders in the County of *Dublin*.

Antony Hubert,

Sara Doughty,

Darby Lea.

Will. Robinson,

Margret Maring.

Mary Comins.

Margery Sharp.

In the County of *Meath*. Cruell murders in the Town of *Navan*.

Mary Comins dragg'd up and down in a rope.

Mr. Sharpe the minister most cruelly murdered, and denied buriall, the Rebels having first inforced him to trample and spoyle all his books in the water.

Jane Pressick.

Tho. Pressick, James Hankin, both, most cruelly murdered at *Trym*, being first robbed, and their wives and children thereby undone.

Reinold Griffith

In the County of *Armagh*. *Reinold Griffith* robbed, cruelly wounded, and pursued 16 miles for his life, and his wife and children imprisoned three weeks by the Rebels, and then the Rebels tooke her son of 14 yeares old and drowned him in a bog-pie, holding him down with a sword in her sight, and this done at the *Newry*.

Rich. Warrin.

William Warrin robbed, and imprisoned by the Rebels 12 dayes, then driven into the River, there stript, thrown into the water and drowned with a 100 more women and children: his wife and six children left at the rebels mercy.

Lidia Smith,

Isack Keene.

In the County of *Longford*. *O. e. Smith* robbed there, had his head cut off in defence of the Castle, and 14 more protestants then, and there murdered also, and his wife and children stript.

Henry Palmer.

In the County of *Wexford*. Divers that kept the Castle of *Folbert* wounded to death, and others stripped, and almost starved to death.

Henry Steele,

Robert Browne,

Clark.

In the County of *Monaghan*. *M. Blany* a Justice of the peace and Knight of the shire, and Committee for the Subsidies, hanged up

up, stript, and buried in a ditch by the rebels in the County of *Monaghan*, because he would not turne and go to masse; and the next night one *Luke Ward* hang'd and throwne into a ditch; and they and divers others were robbed, and the rest kept in prison, without reliefe from them that robd them.

Other murders and cruelties of others, within the County of *Monaghan* by the rebels.

In the County of *Cavan*. Fourteen or fifteen hundred Protestants all rob'd and stript together, and some stript 20 severall times.

The Armes and Towne of *Belinbar* delivered to the *ô Relys*, and their company of Rebels, upon their promise to the Townsmen that they should enjoy their goods safe, and have them preserved against the *Mac Gueres*, and other Rebels of the County of *Fermanagh*. But after, upon pretence that *Mac Guere* threatned them, the Protestants were turned out of the Towne, with their cloaths, and had a guard from the *ô Relys* one day; but the second day they were stript and a great number slain, and many perished through cold and famine; and many little infants left alive by the way languishing, and gaping for breath.

Protestant houses pul'd downe, and divers taken and kept prisoners, many stript, and many died of cold and want, and many children left miserably alive by the way, because the parents were able to bring them no further.

And a very old woman carried 6 miles on her sonnes backe, was forced to be left by the way. And a Minister kild by the Rebels and throwne into a ditch, who had 3 children, two whereof he carried on his backe, which were left by the way at his death.

In the County of *Monaghan*. One who was executed the 15 of February 1641. at *Dublin* for murdering a Protestant woman, confessed upon the gallows that he was set on to doe it, and that after he washed his hands in her blood.

A man who had severall young children borne and alive, and his wife neere her time of delivery of another, was most cruelly murdered by the rebels, his wife flying into the mountaines, the rebels hastily pursued her and her little children, and found her newly delivered of her child there; they pittying no such, nor any distress, presently murdered her and her other children which runne with her thither, and in most inhumane and barbarous manner suffered their dogs to eat up and devoure the new borne child,

Hugh Culme,
Gent.
Henry Calladine
John Giez.

Dorothy Ward.

William Perkins
Anne Borrell.

Richard Lewis,
Gent.

Mary Ward
Elizabeth Birch

John Carter
Mary Owlet

John Heron
Nich. Michael

Henry Barnes
Philip Ward

Christopher Arcey
Silvanus Bullock

Franc. Posnet
Tho. Taylor

Nich. Swainson

John Montgo-
mery, Gent.

and above 100
more witnesses

Mr. John Mont-
gomery.

Philip Taylor
John Wislome

In the County of *Armagh*. One hundred ninety six Protestants drowned by the Papists, rebels, at a Towne neere *Armagh*, all together. Many others most cruelly massacred, and amongst the rest a poore woman with child had her belly ript up, and two children tumbling out, they threw both her and them into the ditch; and after *Philip Taylor* found and drove away a Swine that was feeding upon them.

In the County of *Armagh* and Province of *Ulster*. The rebels there by speciall command from *Sir Philem o Neale*, dragged Lieutenant *James Maxwell* out of his bed in the rage and height of a burning-feaver; and lest any of his friends or acquaintance should bury him, they carried him two miles from any Church, and there cruelly butchered and murdered him, when he knew not what he did or said, and so *Sir Philem* payd him 260 li. which he owed him.

His wife *Grizell Maxwell* being in child-birth (the child halfe borne, halfe unborn) they stript her stark naked, and drove her about an Arrows flight to the water and drowned her.

The like they did to another English woman in the same parish in the beginning of the rebellion; which was little inferiour (if not more unnatural and barbarous then the roasting of *Mr. Watson* the Minister alive after they had cut a collop out of either buttocke.

A Scotch-woman was found in the *Glynwood*, lying dead, her belly ript up, and a living child crawling in her wombe cut out of the cawle.

Mr. Sparkie, sometime Schoollmaster in *Armagh*, a Gentleman of good parentage and parts, being upwards of 100 yeeres of age, they stript naked, caused two of his daughters likewise naked to support him under each arme, (he being not able to goe of himselfe) and in that posture carried them all three a quarter of mile to a turf-pit and drowned them, feeding the lust of their eyes and the cruelty of their hearts with the self-same objects at the same time.

At the siege of *Augher* they would not kill any English heatt, and then eat it, but they cut collops out of them being alive, letting them there roare till they had no flesh upon their backs, so that sometimes a heatt would live 2 or 3 daies together in that torment. The like they did at the Towne of *Armagh*.

They murdered *Hugh Eccles Esquire*, and hanged all his Irish servants that they thought had done him any good, and had proved faithfull unto him.

Henry

Henry Cornwell Esquire, a gallant and well bred Gentleman was murdered because he would not consent to marry a beastly strull *Mary Neale*, neere kinswoman to Sir *Philem*. He was profered his life without the blowe if he would have gone to masse, but he refused to doe either.

They murdered also *Robert Ecklin* his sonne (a child of 11 or 12 yeeres of age, because he would not goe to masse.

Very many of the Brittilsh Protestants the rebels buried alive, and tooke great pleasure to heare them speake unto them as they digged downe old ditches upon them, burying none otherwise, nor suffering any to performe that duty for them.

The rebels would send their children abroad in great troopes, especially negre *Kinnard*, armed with long wattle and whips, who would therewith beate mens privy members untill they beat or rather threshed them off, and then they would returne in great joy to their parents, who received them for such service, as it were in triumph.

If any women were found dead, lying with their faces downward, they would turne them upon their backs, and in great flockes resort unto them, censuring all parts of their bodies, but especially such as are not to be named; which afterwards they abused so many waies and so filthily, as chaste eares would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the Protestants the rebels would grievously wound, but not kill out-right, but being halfe dead would leave them intreating for no greater favour at their hands three or foure daies after but to kill them out-right, which sometimes was granted, sometimes denied.

A young youth having his backe bone broken was found in a field, having like a beast eaten all the grasse round about him: it could not be learned that they kild him out-right, but that they removed him to a place of better pasture.

The rebels themselves confessed and told it to Dr. *Maxwell* while he was prisoner among them, that they killed 954 in one morning in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them they supposed they had kild 1100. or 1200 more in that County.

They told him likewise that Colonell *Brian O'Neill* kild about 1000 in the County of *Downe*, besides 300 kild neere *Killslough* and many hundreds both before and after in both Counties.

At Sir *Phileas* returne from *Lisnegarvy*, some of his souldiers forced about 24 Brittiſh into a houſe, where they burnd them alive; whoſe terrible out-cries they deſired very much to imitate and expreſſe unto others.

County of
Derry, *Tirone*.

Sir *Phileas* himſelfe confeſſed and reported that he killd 600 Engliſh at *Gervah* in the County of *Derry*; and that he had neither left man, woman, nor child alive in the Barony of *Monterlong* in the County of *Tirone* betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry* in the ſeverall Lands and Plantations of Sir *Archebald Auchefon*, *John Hamilton* Eſq, the Lord *Cawfield*, and the l. *Mountnorris*,

There were above 2000 Brittiſh murdered in their owne houſes for the moſt part) whoſe houſes were ſeen by a Scottiſh man filled with their dead bodies.

Armagh.

In the *Glenwood* towards *Drumore* there were ſlaughtred above 1200 in all, who were all killd in their flight to the County of *Derry*.

The number of people drowned at the bridge of *Portadown* are di- verſly reported; but by their owne report there were 150 drowned with Mr. *Fullerton*. At another time they threw 140 over the bridge. At another time 36 or 37. and ſo continued drowning every day more or fewer for ſeven or eight weekes, ſo that the feweſt that can be ſuppoſed there to have periſhed muſt needs be above one thouſand; beſides as many more drowned betwixt the bridge and the great Lough of *Monnigay*; beſides thoſe who periſhed by the Sword, Fire, and Famine in *Cloubreſſill* and the Engliſh plantation adjacent, which in regard there eſcaped not 300 out of all thoſe quarters, muſt needs amount to many thouſands; neere unto Doctor *Maxwells* houſe 37 perſons were throwne from the Carr-bridge at one time 18 or 19. at another time 56 men, women, and children, all taken out of Doctor *Maxwells* owne houſe; and at ſeverall other times ſeverall other numbers; beſides thoſe who were drowned in the black-water at *Kinnard*; in which Towne and Pariſh of *Tynon* there were drowned, ſlaughtred, and died of famine, and for want of clothes, about 600.

To theſe may be added many thouſands more; but reference be- ing had to the number in groſſe which the Rebels themſelves have upon enquiry found out and acknowledged, which notwithstanding will come farre ſhort of all thoſe that have beene murdered in

Ireland,

Ireland, there being above one hundred fifty four thousand wanting of Brittain within the very precincts of *Ulster* in March 1641. as by their monethly bills brought in and made by their Priests by speciall direction appeareth.

It is proved by divers witnesses, that after the drowning of the many Protestants at Portadowne, strange visions and apparitions have been seen and heard there upon the water; sometime a spirit assuming the shape of a man hath been seen there with his hands held up and closed together; and sometimes in the likeness of a woman, appearing waist high above the water, with haire dishevelled, eyes twinkled, elevated and clasped hands, crying out, revenge, revenge, &c. and appearing, and crying so many nights together. Other visions and strange voices, and fearefull scritchings have been heard where they have drowned the English at other places, as at *Belurbar*-river in the County of *Cavan*; a lough neere *Loughall* in the County of *Armagh*, which have also deterred and affrighted the Irish souldiers and others, that they durst not stay neere the place, but fled away.

A boy not above fourteene yeeres of age killed at *Kinnard* in the County of *Tirone* fifteneable men with his Skeine, they being disarm'd, and most of their feet in the stocks. And it hath beene most usuall in all parts for the very Irish women and children to murder the English, and to be more fierce and cruell to their powers then the men themselves. And sometimes the rebels children with such Swords, heavy and well sharpened, would venture upon men and women of ripe yeeres.

In the Countie of *Armagh* it was ordinary and common for the rebels to expose the murdered bodies of the Brittain so long unto publique view and censure, that they began to stinke and infest the ayre, (which being a thing very strange) would not sometimes happen untill foure or five weekes after the mutther commited. Then at length they would permit some of their bodies to be removed and cast into ditches, but so as they must be laid with their faces downward. The reason they gave for the same was, that they so placed them to the intent they might have a prospect and sight of Hell onely. And therefore when they kild any of the Protestants they used alwaies these words, *Anim Drevl*, which is, thy soule to the Divell.

It was usuall sport with one Mr. Maghan Capitaine of the Castle and Towne of *Monaghan*, to take a wodden prick or broach and thrust it up into the fundament of an English man or Scottish man; And thereafter to draw him up and down the roome with a Joint stoole, untill through extreame paine, he either fainted or gave content to the spectators by some noteable skips and frieks. And it is further of undeniable truth that the said *Maghan*, and other Rebels in the County of *Monaghan* (after a great feast there held,) tooke an English or Welsh-man, and bound him naked upon the Table; At which they dranke after dinner, and at every health gave him a gash or wound (but not mortall) untill his whole body became (as it were) one continued wound; And thereafter flung him out upon a dunghill where he died, partly of his wounds, and partly of famine, none daring to relieve him.

In the County of *Kildare* and province of *Leinster*, the Rebels shot an English protestant in his thigh, then tooke him, made a deepe hole in the ground, and made him stand upright therein whilest they filled the hole full of earth againe; and fast ram'd all his body and Armes and all but his head therein, so as he could not stir nor help himselfe; In which state and posture the barbarous villains left him to Languish, Pine, Starve and die there as hee did.

In the County of *Catherlagh* two English protestants being almost starved for want of food at *Catherlagh* Castle, went out to gather a few eares of Corne; were seized on and hung up on a Tree by the haire of their heads all a whole night and more; The next day the Rebels took them downe, and finding yet life in them both, mangled, murdered, and cut them in pieces.

At the silver works in the County of *Tipperarie*, one Capitaine *Kenady* and two Souldiers on a Sabbath day, suddenly fell upon above 20 of the miners being Englishmen, and murdered them all. And soone after the same Capitaine (because hee was hindered from doing the like mischief upon others of the English) fell into a mad frantick fit and drowned himselfe.

Teige O Conniers Sligo, reputed Generall of the Rebels in the County of *Sligo*, and his brothers and divers other bloody Captains, and a great number of their Souldiers in December, 1641.

Surprised

Tipperary Province of Munster.

Sligo Province of Connaught.

Surprised and tooke the Towne of *Sligo*; and quarter promised to the *Brittish* there for their lives, they being 38. who were kept three weeks by the said *Teige O Conniers*; he having taken all their goods of great value. But then those 38. *Brittish* were by consent of the said *Teige* put into the goale of *Sligo*; and about midnight were most barbarously murdered, with butchers Axes, Sledges and other things, and cut all to peeces by the brothers of the said *Teige*, and others of the name and Sect of the *Conniers*; And a Gentlewoman there attempting to goe away, shee being great with Child, was taken and had her belly ript up: So as her Childs Arme appeared in her Wombe.

In the County of *Kilkenny*, in the Province of *Munster*, and elsewhere in that Province (aswell as in *Ulster* in the North) It is a thing most common, and ordinary to bury the English alive. To digge up the dead Corps of others in the Churches and Church-yard, and to cast them out to open view, and there to leave them: And those that attempted to bury any of the English were murdered and denied buriall themselves.

In *Dungavon* in the County of *Tirone*, or neere thereunto the Rebels murdered 316 Protestants, betweene *Charlemont* and *Dungavon* above 400.

By *Benbarb* in the black water in Com. *Armagh*, were dround 206. And the rebell *Patrick Mac Crew* of *Dungavon* murdered 31. in one morning.

Two yound Rebels named *John Begg*, and *Brian Harvy* murdered in the County of *Tirone* 140. poore Women and children.

The Wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Loghgall*, in Com. *Armagh*, did with her own hands murder 45.

Doctor *Hodges* with forty foure more, was murdered within a quarter of a mile of *Charlemont*, in the County of *Armagh*.

At a Mill-pond in the Parish of *Killamas*, and County of *Tirone*, there were drowned in one Day 300. protestants, and in that parish there were murdered, of English and Scotch, 1200.

Many young Children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the

Rebels, and 18. Scotch infants were hanged up upon a clothiers Tenter-hooks.

A young fat Scotch-man was murdered, and the Rebels made Candles of his grease.

They tooke another Scotchman and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his small guts. The one end whereof they tied to a Tree, and made him go round untill he had drawne them all out of his body. They then sying, they would try whether a dog, or a Scotchmans guts were longer.

Many other bloody murders and massacres of protestants by the popish Rebels, and other most intollerable outrages, within twenty severall Counties of the Kingdom of *Ireland* at the least; and all protestants generally dispoiled of all their goods, and clothes, turned away from their habitations naked; whereby many thousand have died of cold, hunger, and want: to prove which there are now in *Dublin* many thousands of witnesses.



THE
Impious, wicked, and leud actions
of the Papists, against the Protestants,
and their Religion.

William Hoo.

Hugh *o Rely* a ring-leader of the rebels in the County of *Cavan*, said, that the English thought to cut the throats of the Irish for their Religion, but the Irish would prevent them and cut their throats first for their Religion.

Adam Glover.

In the County of *Cavan*, *James o Rely*, *Hugh Brady*, and other rebels often tooke the Protestant Bibles and wetting them in puddle water, did five or six severall times dash the same in the faces of Protestants, saying, come I know you love a good lesson, here is a most excellent one for you, and come to morrow and you shall have

as good a Sermon. And as the Protestants were going to the Church the rebels tooke and dragged them into the Church by the haire of the head; where they whipt, robd, stript, and most cruelly used them, saying, that to morrow you shall heare the like sermon.

That *Rory Mac-Guire*, Sir *Thilem O Neale*, and the Nor. *Robert Brown*, thren Rebels in the Counties of *Moneghan*, *Armagh*, *Lewish*, *Lo. Montgomery*, *Cavan*, *Meath* and other places where they came, burnt, *Iohn Wisdome*, tore, or otherwise trampled under their feete, and spoyled all and many the Protestants Bibles, and other good Bookes of the Prote. others. stantr.

In the County of *Wexford*. That *Derucot mac Dooley*, the *Henry Palmer*. Rebell, and his company went into the Church at *Fethert*, and cut the Pulpit-Cloath, and Ministers bookes in peeces: and strewed them about the Church-Yard; and caused the Piper to play whilst they danced, and trampled upon them under their feete, calling the Minister dogge, and stripping him of his Cloathes.

The Generall cruelty to Ministers against Protestants and that religion duly exercised by the Papist-rebells scornfull malicious and contemptuous words and blasphemies; are so many and frequently used, and by too wofull experience found and proved by a multitude of witnesses.

FINIS.



21314



November 20.

The Spie,

Communicating Intelligence

from Oxford.

Amsth
Fr 19

From *Thursday* the 6. of *Jan*, to *Thursday* the 13. of the same.

THE Relation from *Oxford* speaks thus: That the Duke of *Torke* is remaining there still; who hath as yet for his attendants *Gundemare* *Brissall*, the Spanish *Rabbi*, his assistant *Don* *diego* *Castington*, and some others of the *Cabino* *Council*. But *Don* *George* *Moby* that *vold* *Incendiary* of about thirty; hath taken flight with his Majesty, whose sudden absence hath proved the untimely death of the Pamphlet called *Amst*. As long as he was present, that solicitous, scandalous, and treacherous paper was maintained in being; And no sooner had the guilt of conscience, and the terror of an Army caused him to fly, but the paper fell of its self into a vast gulph of silence, from whence it is never likely to be raised: So that it is from hence sufficiently instructed, who was the author in chief of that renowned heape of slanders against the State. What the reason may be of their leaving the Duke of *Torke* now leaving him in

York behind, is much questioned abroad; but certain it is
 that he is there, and the cause of his not removing was (as
 it is reported) in regard that being much inclined to a Fea-
 ver, and to bleeding, the Physitians had caused three se-
 verall issues to be made; which being but newly done, it
 was held in no wise safe to be removed upon the sudden,
 especially in such extraordinary wet weather as it then
 was: Whereupon by advice of the Physitians, the Coun-
 cell of War agreed that he should remaine there still; nay
 some of them were so confident, as to advice his Majesty
 himselfe to continue there, affirming that they would
 maintaine the Town of *Oxford* for two moneths, against
 all the Forces of the Parliament. Others, and the Ma-
 jor part, advised his Majesty (who at that time was very
 urgent for direction) by all meanes to make way thence
 speedily through the cleereſt passage towards *Woodſtocke*,
 and to betake himself thence, either to *Worceſter* or *Bri-
 ſtoll*: This advice was speedily taken, and about twelve
 a clock of night tooke the Prince along with him, and
 came without being taken notice of to a Heath neer *Wood-
 ſtocke*, and there about two of the clock in a most Rainy
 night, He with the Prince, walked together, expecting
 the Horse to come unto them. From thence, the next
 day they marched to *Burford*, where they refreshed them-
 selves about two houres; Then Sir *William Waller* giving
 them the Alarme, they presently cryed out, *To horſe, to
 horſe, Waller is coming*: The King rode not about the Town
 (as some report) with his Sword drawn to force the ſoul-
 diers forwards; but it is true, that He and the Prince, as
 they were going out of town, called upon them, and at
 the lower end neer the bridge, stood about halfe an hoire
 at the doore of an Ale-houſe to perswade them forwards.
 The next place of the Kings arrivall worthy taking no-
 tice

rice of was *Burgam*, where againe about mid night, *Sir William Waller's* horse gave them another Alarme, which so affrighted them, that they presently ranne to secure a draw-bridge, where (whatsoever the cause was is unknown) no sooner were they tampering with the Bridge, but that all failed under them, and three-score or above falling were drowned in the River: Thus revenge pursues them in both Elements.

Several reports there have been, whether the King should bend his Journey; some say to *Bristol*, others to *Worcester*: But we are certified, that He is now at *Stratbury*, in hopes to recrate himselfe there againe; But I believe he will hardly finde such an easie world there, as he did formerly; here I cannot but call to minde his former successe in that Country through the peoples ignorance, where our miseries were at first confirmed, by the increasing of an Army against our Religion and Liberties: There after the repulse given at *Torke*, at *Nottingham*, and all the countries along, they had entertainment given beyond expectation, and a greater confluence of men and Armes then could be imagined; so forward were they in contributing to the generall destruction.

His Majesty with his remnants being gotten over *Sterne*, *Sir William Waller* thought it not convenient to pursue them any further, but hath since beaken himself to beleaguer *Chudleigh* Castle, the surrender or taking whereof you may expect to heare suddenly; and then no question but he and *Colonell Mussy* being joyned together, will perform deeds answerable to their valour, and the vulgar expectation.

His Excellency is ere this time very neer to the relieving of *Lyme* that stout and resolved Garrison. On Sunday-night last, he was at *Salisbury*, and after the relieving of *Lyme*, his next design is in general for the West, but more particularly *Bristol*.

How bravely the Garrison of *Lyme* have behaved themselves lately, have been sufficiently manifested by letters of the 30. of May, and the first of June, since which there came other Letters also from the Right Honourable the Earl of *Warwick*, intimating the passages in relieving the Town; which act was done by the speciall providence of God in this his Honourable Instrument, when there was almost no hope left, being driven to two dayes Victualls, and not knowing which way to be relieved: And yet this nobly resolved garrison ventured thus far to their eternall honour, and the envy of their bloody minded, and malicious adversaries.

The late Ordinance made for the sending forth of Colonel *Richard Brawn* (that love and lover of his Country) to be Sergeant Major Generall of the Counties of *Oxon*, *Berks*, and *Buckingham*, &c. cannot but be very seasonable, in regard that the more refractory sort of people which are in those parts, being put to streights on every side, may by this meanes be brought into more forwardnesse and cordiall obedience: And besides, the well affected in those parts will be able to expresse themselves in the behalf of the Parliament, who have hitherto been quelled by the power of a tyrannous and over-daring enemy. I am confident, by the report of men dwelling in those parts, that whensoever he shall advance that way, multitudes will daily come unto him, lesse then this can nor be expected, if we consider how fast even those soldiers who were listed in his Majesties desperate Service, came in to serve under his Excellency and Sir *William Waller*, loytering behind in one place, by thirty, in another forty, more or lesse in a company, on purpose to be taken, and to enter themselves into the Parliament Service.

Whilst our grand Armies are aying themselves, and

the Enemy abroad; it will not be amiss to observe what course is taken to crush the plundering caterpillars neer home: That Captain *Temple*, who approved his gallantry upon the Cavaliers at *Islip*, is commanded away upon service against the Popish Garrison at *Greenland-house*, with his Troop of One hundred Dragoons out of *Kent*, a hundred Horse from *Surrey*, a hundred Horse from *Alisbury*, Two hundred Horse and Dragoons out of *Sussex*, and a Regiment of Horse, and two of Foot out of the City, besides the *Middlesex* Troop, and Four hundred Foot from *Windsor*, already before *Greenland-house*, who have Eight hundred Horse and Foot come to their assistance already from the counties: All these joyntly will be able to do pretty service against that Den of Thieves, who with their Neighbours of *Basing*, have so piteously plundered the countrey.

But we hope that these Forces will very suddenly make such dispatch with these, that they may be at leisure to shackle those licentious Robbers also in *Basing-house*, who in the mean time are curbed from committing any outrages, by the industry of valiant Colonel *Norton*, for whom the Inhabitants of *Hampshire* have agreed to maintain a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot. The countrey thereabouts also hath promised to assist him in the besieging of *Basing-house*, which is begun in part already. Colonel *Norton* having possessed himself of the Town of *Basing*, and seized many cartell, and much corn, which the Marquess had very carefully provided for the Garrison, but will now be better employed.

That Arch-papist Sir *Charles Blair*, Commander in chief in the Garrison of *Greenland-house*, was slain lately by one of his own Captains, named *Peter Langston*, who married a Niece of *Carter*, the Town-clerk in *Oxford*. The deed (as I am informed) was done in *Oxford*; where this Sir

Charles

Charles Blunt coming to passe out of the Court of Guard at an unreasonable time of night, the Sentinell bade him stand, and he giving no answer, was denyed entrance: But he, in stead of satisfying the fellow who he was, in a rage asked him whether he knew him or not: and without any more ado, cudgelled him. Whereupon a hurly-burly arising, and *Langston* having by accident the command there that night, discharged a Pistoll at him, with full execution, notwithstanding that he knew who he was.

The valiant active *Sir William Brereton* is by this time with his forces in *Cheshire*, the Parliament having made him Commander in chief of all the Forces raised within those Associated countries for the King and Parliament, giving him full power to lead an Army into any of those counties, and to make Colonels, and all other Officers, and do all things he shall think convenient, to the well ordering of his Forces, To execute Martiall Law, and all other things, according to the Discipline exercised by his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*.

No sooner shall this gallant Commander have mustered, and taken an accompt of his souldiers, but you may expect to hear of action and successe: It was he that gave the first crush to the hopes of the Cavaliers, upon the coming over of their Irish friends, when he sent so many of them away prisoners, and preserved the Town of *Norwich*. To say the truth, hee did more then could possibly be expected with such small Forces, and we could never have had a more gallant entertaineer of such Irish Rebels, as should have landed at *Chester*, had not a wider gap, and easier passage been set open for them, by the unfortunate losse of *Bristoll*.

But to supply that honorable service, of which he was bereaved by the hand of providence, another gallant spirit, captain *Swinley*, is directed up to be a scourge & terror unto those

those bloody villains, who having received of the Parliament, an honorable Reward for his faithfull service, is shortly to return with Instructions and provision, for the further settling of power in those parts.

It seems the Western parts afford the Queen so little Money, that she is forced to expect it from Forreign parts, as it appears by the taking of a Spanish ship of great prize by our ever honoured Admirall the Earl of *Warwick*; this ship is thought to bee worth Eight thousand pounds at least, having in her good store of Bullion, Powder, Arms and other rich Treasure, which was going for *Excester*, but now with a freer passage is coming to *London*.

No week passes, but Colonell *Massey* addes new honors to his former, and gives us occasion to mention some notable Exploit or other, as now the taking of that necessary Garrison of *Tocksbury*, with divers prisoners, one Major, one Captain, one Lieutenant, and other Officers, twenty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pikes, and Arms, with a good quantity of Match and other Ammunition.

Prince *Rupert*, he that usually wades through blood to the recruiting of an Army, ranges with his plundering Forces through all the parts of *Lancashire*, and what with the dependants of the Earl of *Derby*, and others forced for fear, he is increased to about Ten thousand men; but the chief strength of his Army from that place, consists of the Popish Gentry, which are not a few in that county, and it seems also by Letter from before *Tork*, that *Goring* with his Forces is come unto him, and that it was believed, that he intended to attempt raising of the Siege at *Tork*. But Sir *John Meldrum* writes, that they bend Southwards, as he thinks, to take *Warrington*, and *Liverpool*; And that if he once passe South out of *Lancashire*, it is thought he will march to meet the King.

Sir *Arthur Haselrig* came to Town on Munday night,
and

and hath informed the Houses of the manner of Sir *William Waller* pursuing his Majesties Forces, and confirmed the report of Sir *John Ham* laying close Siege to *Chudleigh-castle*.

The late Letters printed in the Relation from the siege before *Torke* have sufficiently set forth the condition of our Armies, and carriage of affaires there; and therefore I shall only relate some particulars constantly averred abroad, which yet I finde to be omitted by others: I beleve that according to the Letter from the Leaguer before *Torke*, June 7. My Lord *Eglington* did (as it is there specified) with four thousand Scots, entered the severall places called *Gill-gate*, *Mary-gate*, and *Mary-Tower*, but that the Marston house should ever be taken by mining, is somewhat improbable, in regard that they have formerly attempted often that way, but have alwayes been letted by reason of the abundance of Springs wherewith that country abounds, especially neer the Town: Certainly the businesse cannot but be made in end of one way, or other, before this time; for our men without are as hot as they are within, who (it is reported) are resolved to fire the whole Town, rather then yield: I beleve the furious fiery *L. Witherington* would willingly be the foremost in such an act, who (as I heare) takes care for nothing but how he may increase that heape of mischiefs, for which revenge and his owne conscience will one day pursue him; He is the man upon whose shoulder the burthen and managery of al doth lye, whilst the Marquess of *Newcastle* is drawn so far in with the Deane of *Torke*. Daughter, that neither our Ordinance, nor the tyrannie of *Witherington*, can awaken him, to take notice, or knowledge of his own condition. It is reported for certain, that the Citizens having assembled themselves to consult what was best to be done in the midst of such urgent extremities; and after debate, finding no hope either within for defence, or without for relief of the town; they concluded to raise certain Propositions and conditions upon the surrender, and resolved to send them forthwith unto our Generalls: Whereof *Witherington* having notice, he so far prevailed, that for examples sake, four of the best of those citizens were hanged in the market-place; and a Declaration made upon paine of Death, that three Citizens should not be seen together in one place hereafter.

Printed according to Order for L. F.

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K. D. London
A Particular Relation.

33

Number 2.

THE
CONTINUATION
OF TRUE
INTELLIGENCE

From the Right Honourable, the Earl of
Manchester's Army,

Since the taking of
LINCOLNE; MAY 6th.
untill the first day of this
instant *June*, 1644.

BY
SIM. ASH and WILLIAM GOODE,
Chaplains to the said Earl.

Allowed of by Authoritie, and entred
according to Order.



LONDON,

June 13
Printed for Thomas Underhill, at the Bible in Woodstreet.

1644.

Number 2.

33

THE
CONTINUATION
OF THE
INTELLIGENCE
FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF

Manchester's Army.

Since the taking of

BLANCO MOUNTAIN, MAY 1644.

until the first day of this

instant year, 1644.

BY

JOHN ASH and WILLIAM GOODRICH

Printed and Sold by the Author.

Approved of by Authority, and entered

according to Order.

3333

1644

June 1644

Printed



*A Relation of the severall Removes
of the Earl of Manchester's Army, from
May 6. until June 1. 1644.*

THe Relation of the severall removes and attempts of the Right honourable, the Earl of Manchester his Army, since it marched from Bedford, and of the good success which God gave unto the assault made upon *Lincoln*, was so well accepted by our friends at *London*, that wee are thereby encouraged to continue our Intelligence as new occasions and opportunities may be offered; and at this time, we do the rather make report of the severall motions of this army, because in regard of our great distance from *London*, there may be many mistakes and mis-reports, tending to publike prejudice. So soon as God had given *Lincoln* into our possession, wee kept there a day of solemn Thanksgiving, that the God of our salvation and victory might be honoured for that great mercy, vouchsafed to us, and to many others also with us. Afterwards wee speedily endeavoured to make a bridge of Boats neer *Gainsborough*, that we might have constant converse with the *Scottish*

tish army, and appointed two Regiments of foot, with Canon to guard that Work: This bridge being made, neer 3000. horse were dispatched unto *Bantre*, *Ratford* and *Tuxford*; and there joyned with 2000. horse sent from the Scots, and the Lord *FADREAX*, But before this body of horse was conjoyned, our own horse, commanded by Lievtenant Generall *Cromwell*, advancing into *Nottinghamshire* towards the enemy, the enemy, (who had above 90. Colours, which wee esteemed 4000. and themselves accounted 6000. horse) was so affrighted, that they did swim over the *Trent*, within two or three miles of *Newark*, where three men and one woman were drowned, besides the prejudice otherwayes received by the waters, into which many of them were forced, by the swords of their own Commanders. There were also before this flight of the enemies, divers small skirmishes, wherein they alwayes were put to the worse, but because they were not of any great consequence, therefore we forbear to particularize them.

It being common and confidently reported, that Prince *Rupert*, with a great strength gathered from various Counties, was advancing towards *York* for the reliefe thereof, and the releasing of his good friends, both *Papists* and others there besieged by our Brethren of Scotland, our body of horse now joyned with the others before mentioned, resolved to make resistance.

sistance. And hearing that the enemies horse (which fled from ours neer *Nawark*, and had wofully plundered *Leicestershire*, about *Hinckley* and *Lutterworth*) was comming toward *Sheffield*, with the addition of 1000. fetched or forced to joyne with them, our body of horse hastned to meete them and got as farre as *Ratheram* and *Barnsley*; but the enemy quitted their quarters there, went into *Warbyshire*, and from thence into *Lancashire* to joyn themselves with *Prince Rupert*. The renowned Generall *Lussy* and the worthy Lord *Fairfax* apprehending that the Town of *Manchester* might be in danger by the approach of so potent and so violent an adversarie, did send two Regiments of foote, and some Troopes of Horse under the command of Sir *John Meldrum* for the securing thereof from oppression and spoyle; which strength through Gods good providence came safely and seasonably thither.

Now, our horse, with the two other parties joyned with them, are marching towards *Wakefield* and *Knafeborough*. Having thus farre reported the removes of our horse, wee shall also acquaint you with the severall motions of our foot.

Upon Friday, May 25. wee marched from *Lincoln* to *Gainsborough*, but we were compelled to leave our greatest Ordinance behind us, the wayes being deep, by reason of great rain which hath been in these parts.

The next day wee marched into the Isle of *Axholme*; and though the army there rested upon

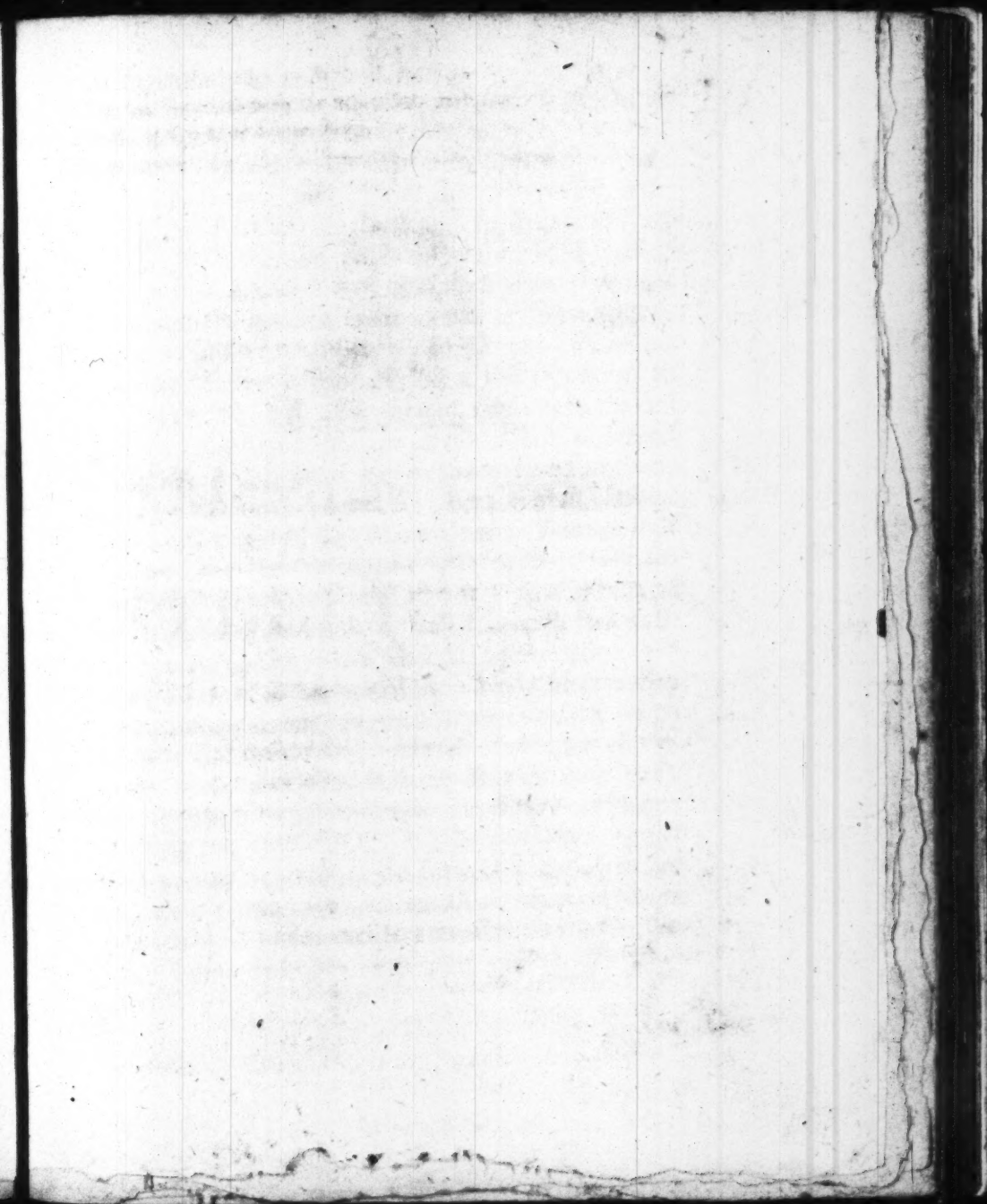
upon the Sabbath, yet our noble Lord, in reference to the necessity and importance of publike businesse, did that day travell to meet with some Commanders, who were intrusted with the care of the main body of horse.

Upon Munday the army marched to *Thorne*, that day our much honoured Lord, went unto the Leaguer at *Tork*, to consult with Generall *Lesley*, and the Lord *Fairfax*, about the best way of promoting the publike cause, which is deeply settled in all their hearts. The Earl of *Manchester* stayed at the Leaguer on Munday night, and according to his orders, the army met him at *Selby* upon Tuesday night. Here we kept the publike Fast upon Wednesday: On Thursday his Lordship went unto the neighbour villages, to take notice of the state of his souldiers in their severall quarters: Yesterday, his Lordship met Generall *Lesley*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and field officers, at the Lord *Howards* house in *Eskrigge*, to consult for the publike, whertupon our army is this day commanded to march towards *Tork*, and an Officer is sent to take quarters on the North side the City for his Lordship, and those who attend him. Our eyes are towards heaven for the success of our service, and we hope that through Gods mercy, our next Intelligence will rejoyce the hearts of our faithfull friends.

Selby, June 1^o

Sim. Alb.

William Goode.



*Shudeley-castle taken by Sir Will. Waller.
Compton-house taken by the Warwick garrison.
The King is gone to Shrewsbury.
The manner of the Archbishops consecrating Churches.*

Sir William



Waller

Mercurius Civicus
LONDON
INTELLIGENCER!
OR,
Truth impartially related from
thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent mis-information.

From Thursday June 6. to Thursday June 13. 1644.



Shall (for once) begin with the Archb. of Cam-
bury, and give you a brief relation of his triall on
Tuesday last, *June 11* the first testimony then given
in was by Sir Henry Mildmay, who being absent
the last triall, the Archbishop desired a *subor.* (as
to his evidence) and that he might this day declare
before their Lordships what words he formerly spake to the Archbi-
shop

shop concerning the opinion the papist had of him at Rome, which (as his little Grace pretended) was, *That of all that sat in his place since the Reformation he was the most hated: both of the Pope and Cardinals; and therefore conceived it might much conduce to his vindication.* But upon examination it proved otherwise, and that those words were not in *terminis terminantibus* uttered by Sir Henry, though he spake something to that purpose, namely, *That he heard many things diversly spoken there concerning the Archbishop; there were some that spake very much against the Archbishop, and some spake for him, according to their variety of opinions there.* The ground of the former opinion, as Sir Henry then declared, was, *That they did conceive he did aime at a power too great in the Ecclesiasticall state in the 3 Kingdomes.* And the reason of the latter was, *That they thought he carried himselfe in the government of the Church of England in that way that he might bring things here neerer to Rome; and he further added, That he gave a paper to the Archbishop of all the factions that were then among the Cardinals at Rome.* The next witness in that businesse was one Mr. Challenor, (an intelligent Traveller) who did plainly attest, that the opinion of the greatest and most eminent papists both in France, Flanders, and Italy, where he came, was, *That they had hopes of a very easie and sudden reduction of England to the Romish Faith, and to that purpose they thought that there were many men of eminency of their Religion, and particularly, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was (according to their owne words) a Roman Catholique; and in their ordinary devotion prayed for the good successe of his designer.* But in the afternoon both their testimonies were more fully confirmed by Mr. Anthony Milmay, who declared, *That at Rome there were two principall factions, the one of secular Priests, and the other of Jesuits. The secular Priests did allwaies adhere to him and spake well of him, for they are of opinion, That he would introduce popery into England, and the Jesuits did not adhere to him, because they did believe he had a designe to make himselfe a Patriarch in England, which they abhorre like for then he would be, as it were, *alter Christus*, a Pope in the other world, for so they thought England to be. It was the same that was said of the Archbishop among the Priests and Priests both in Flanders, France, and also at Rome, the chiefe seat of intelligence in the whole world.*

After the conclusions of these Testimonies Sergeant *Wild* for he was the chiefe in managing the charge that day declared, That they were then to insist upon the remainder of the 7 Article, namely; That he had urged and injoynd divers Popish and superstitious Ceremonies, &c. The first proofes that were brought against him were for a more full manifestation of the severall superstitions and childish Ceremonies used by him at the Consecration of Churches, and instance was given of two in London, *Cree-Church* and *Gileses* in the fields, both which were consecrated by the Bishop himselfe after the forme that is used in the Roman pontificall, *De Ecclesia dedicationis five consecratione*, which was after this manner, The 16 day of January 1631. The Bishop, Dr. *Ducke*, Sir *Henry Martin*, and Sir *John Lamb* came in a pompous manner towards *Cree-Church* a great concourse of people following them, when the Bishop came neere it, these words were uttered with a loud voice; *Stand open oh yee gates and be yee open yee everlasting doores and the King of glory shall come in. Whereupon the doores flew open as it were by a miracle, and the Bishop at the entrance fell down upon his knees and pronounced the ground holy & the place holy. In the name of the Father, &c. And taking up some of the dust that was on the West side of the Church, threw it up into the Aire, which he did (as is supposed) according to the directory in the missall) in modum Crucis, That is in the forme of a Crosse, which done he moved himself forwards and so comming neere unto the rayles which was by an ascent towards the Table he bowed himselfe severall times and went back a little way, and then caused the 100 Psalm and the 90 to be sung, and then read a Prayer, and then they came to the Table againe and after severall Ceremonies at each corner of the Table (for it did not then stand Altarwise) he turns back to a seate in one of the Isles, where there was a cloath of state hung, and there sat down and read out of a written book about 20. or 30 curses against them that should profane that holy place, & after the end of every curse bowed himself, and after that pronounced blessings to all those that had contributed, or helpt forward towards the building of that holy and sacred place. And after the pronouncing of them there was a Sermon made by Doctor *Denison*, who was injoynd not to be above half an houre both in Prayer and preaching, because of other actions to be performed afterwards. The Doctors Text was out of *Luke 19. 46. My house shall be called, &c. where-**

in he did loweligh against Images and Pictures in Churches (for which he was afterwards questioned in the high Commission Court by the Archbishop) after the Sermon ended, the Bishop came to consecrate the bread and wine, to administer the Sacrament to divers which were there which he did after this manner: He first came to that end of the Table where the linnen was laid, over the Bread, and after a low bow first lifted up the cloath a little, and then laid it down againe, and then bowing againe twice, or thrice after that manner at last tooke off the Cloath, and when he saw the Bread, bowed againe, the like he did by the Wine bowing divers times and then lifted up the cover of the Cup; and laid it downe againe till at last he uncovered it and so delivered it unto them one of the prayers he used was to this effect.

Almighty God when that mighty Arch-angell shall at the last day sound, and that voice shall be heard, arise yee dead and come to judgement, accept we pray thee these servants, who doe dedicate unto thee this Church for thy service, as holy ground not to be prophaned to any other use.

The next Church that was consecrated by him, almost after the same manner was *Giles* in the fields, which although it had bin used for above 2 yeares after the building of it, yet he afterwards interdicted it for above a fortnight and would not permit either preaching or service to be in it till that, and the Church-yard were both consecrated, saying, *They they might as well preach in a Barn as there before it was consecrated*, the fees (for that was another part of the Idolatry) which were then tooke by his Officers were 27 l. 6 s. 8 d. five pounds whereof was for the Archbishop himselfe.

He also consecrated a Chappell of the Lord Treasurer *Westons* at *Robampton*, and the Parish Church of *Stannmore Magna*, in the County of *Middlesex* built by *Sir John Wolffenholme*, using many such like ceremonies, as he had done in the former.

But that which was furthermore particularly insisted upon was concerning his owne Chappell at *Aberguinny*, in which as hee says in his own Diary *August. 18, 1629.* he did dedicate in *gratum memoriam St. Joh. Baptistæ*, for the honour of *St. John Baptist* of whose Colledge in *Oxford* he was a member, and afterwards President. Then a Note was read of the severall things that were in his Chappell with the length and breadth of them, as namely, A piece of

of hanging 12 foote deep with the story of *Abraham* and *Mitchi-
zedeck*. Another peece and part of the story of *David*, a large peece
of *Crimson Damaske*, the *Altar*, the *Service Booke*, a *Cushion*, and
Candlesticks, with *Tapers*, a *Silver* and gilt *Chalice* having ingra-
ven in it the *Shepherd* with the lost *Sheepe* on his back, and over
it the *wise men* worshipping the *Star*, a *Bason* and *Ewer* to wash be-
fore *Consecration*, the *foote-pace* to the *Altar* with three *ascents*
of *firre bords*, three *chaines* used at *ordination*, the *musick Table*
with three *Cups*; The *typicall censire* wherein the *Clark* puts in
Frankincense at the reading of the first *Lesson*, a *seate* where the
Chaplain sat to read *Service*; A *seate* with a *Canopy* over it for the
Bishop, the *Water*, the *Frankincense*, and the *Milke*, *Water*, or ho-
ly *Water* with divers other such like *utensills* which did of them-
selves speak, that he stood for the *Protestant Religion* then, as
the *Papists* and *Irish rebels* shew that his *Majesty* fights for the *pro-
testant Religion* now.

The next thing that was observed by *Sergeant Wild* was, That as
he had indeavoured by his breath to add a holiness to those things
upon which God had instamped none, for he indeavoured to make
the *dayes* and *times*, which God had set apart for his own use and
service (as much as in him lay) unholy, and for that it was made
to appeare; That it was by the power practice and procurement of
the *Archbishop*, that that profane booke concerning *Sports* to be
used on the *Lords Day*, was published in his *Majesties Name*, and
whereas he pretended it was done by his *Majesties* speciall com-
mand, there was a paper in forme of a *Warrant* found with the
Booke, which in regard it had no date nor place named as is usuall
in those things could not but be of the *Archbishops* speciall procure-
ment. The *Warrant* may be to this effect.

C. Rex.

Canterbury, see that our Booke of *Sports* after Evening Prayer, be
forthwith Printed.

There were also in the booke 3 additions in the *Archbishops* own
hand, which he gave in charge to his *Visitors* and those that were im-
ployed in his *Metropolitall* censure (as deepe as could be) those
that should disobey his commands in not reading of the said decla-
ration, and those very worthy and godly *Ministers*, his designs being
to shut out preaching. The *Ministers* whom he so proceeded against
were

were Mr. Culmer, who was suspended for 3 yeeres and 7 monethes, and had not a farthing profit of his Living; and afterwards the Patron tooke advantage and gave it away from him; and when the said Mr. Culmer came with a Petition to the said Archbishop, he could have no other answer but this, *That if he could not sell him to buy, he could not sell him to grant.* Another Minister was one Mr. Wilson of the Assembly, who for not reading the said booke of sports was suspended for 4 yeeres, and his Living sequestred wholly for 2 yeeres, and about a moneth after his suspension he had Articles brought against him in the high Commission-court, which were, *That he had not only refused to read the booke of sports, but had given disdainfull words to the Parator that brought the booke; whereas the words he spake to him at that time were, that he should remember to keep holy the Sabbath day.* There were some other proofes brought against him upon this and some other busineses, which in regard they are not altogether so materiall, I shall not mention. He is appointed to come againe on Munday next.

Tuesday June 12. it was advertised, that the garrison at Warwick-castle had taken Compton-house within 5 miles of Banbury, belonging to the E. of Northampton, and therein Spencer Compton his brother and 9 score prisoners, and much treasure.

About a fortnight since Mr. Richard Browne, sonne to that faithfull and ever renowned Commander Major-generall Browne, passing from Rye to Deepe, as a traveller into France, in the company of divers other Gentlemen and Merchants; the Barke with the company and lading were seized upon by the roving enemy, that like their master compasse both sea and Land, seeking whom they may devoure, and were all carried to Weymouth, where they are prisoners. These young Gentlemen were not taken in Armes, but travelling out of the Kingdome (perhaps to avoyd that occasion) yet are not allowed by these Pirates what meere civility would challenge, how ever 'twill be discretion in the enemy to use him (while in their custody) respectively, whose father hath had, and may otherwise have opportunity of a plenary revenge, he being now by Ordinance of Parliament constituted and appointed Serjeant-major-generall of all the forces raised or to be raised, and imployed by authority of Parliament, for the reducing of the City of Oxford, the Towne and Castle of Wallingford, the Fort of Greenland-house, and the Towne and Castle of Banbury; as also Sergeant-major-generall of the forces of the Countrey

ty of *Oxon, Berks. and Buckingham*, and farther power given him to call a Councell of War upon all occasions for the executing of justice upon offenders.

On Thursday June 11. it is certified by Letters from his Excellencies Army. That he intended speedily to march into *Dorcestshire* to raise the siege from *Lyme*, it being (as hath been published) already releived by the Earle of *Warwick*. Munday night June 10. His Excellency lay at the Marquesse of *Hartford*s house at *Tottinham*, in the way to *Salisbury*, and sent a party of horse to quarter there that night, intending to march after them himselve and to be there on Tuesday, and thence to *Lyme*.

The same day it was more particularly advertised, that His Majesty, after His hasty flight from the vale of *Evesham*, where he quartered Wednesday June 5. being the sooner driven thence by reason of an Alarme of some of Sir *W. Wallers* forces, who (quartering at *Stow* in the old) sent a party to beat up the quarters of the Cavaliers, and tooke a French Major and 60 horse: so that thereupon His Majesty went toward *Shrewsbury*, at or neere which place He was on Munday June 10. with His Horse and Dragoones, and His Foot were forced to march very hastily after Him, and about 60 of them drowned in the cutting of an arch at *Paxam* bridge.

The last weeke at a Quarter-sessions held in the Old-bally there were indicted of high-treason divers persons who were supposed to have counterfeited and coyned many thousands of false Half-crownes; the matter very base, but not easily discovered by such as receive them. One amongst the rest of those that were indicted doth averre, (and that confidently) that they were so counterfeited at *Oxford* and sent hither, merely to deceive the Londoners. This Reader, we should not easily credit, did we not finde by sad experience, that not onely the *Oxford* Half-crownes are counterfeited, their Broad-seales, and Privy-seales forged, their Lords and their Ladies light, their offers of peace, and treaties of pacification signed, but that all their actions are become not currant. Yet let the Citizens and others put on the Spectacles came lately in print, as well to discerne the false stampes of *Oxford*, their imbalasing pure and free borne spirits to serve their owne destructive designs, as to discover their other gulleries, and then, *si populus vult decipi, decipiatur*.

By Letters from the Leiguer before *Yorke*, dated the 7 of June, it is advertised, that on the third of June the Scots Forces tooke *Walton-hall* neere *Wakefield*, and in it Sir *Francis Marley* the elder, the first Incendiary in *Yorkshire*, who first drew his sword in *Yorke*, crying, who's for the King? and so made a party for the King against the Parliament. There were 120. souldiers taken with him, who yielded themselves upon quarter, after they had slaine severall of our men. That the first

of June the Scots fetcht many cattell and horses from the enemy neere Micklegate-barre, and slew many both horse and foot of the enemy. They left 34 dead in the place, and brought away 30 prisoners. Wednesday June 5. the E. of Manchester men fell on neere Walm-gate, but deserted it again, when they had gotten 80 head of cattell from the Enemy; also Sandall-castle neere Wakefield was the same day surrendered to our forces.

Wednesday-night there was a battery made at the Windmill betwixt Yorke and Lichington, about eight score distant from the Walls, and five pieces of great Ordnance Thursday placed in it, and divers shots made into the City, which made visible batteries, both in the Walls, Cliffords Tower, and other houses. Another battery was on Thursday got at S. Lawrence Church, made within the Church-yard neere Womb-gate, about 50 yards from the gate, and there, and in the Church and houses, here are about 3000 of our men.

My Lord Eglington with 4000 Scots, the same day entered Gilligate, Mary-gate, and Mary Towne, and have made a passage into the Mannor under ground, Thursday night a strong party sallied out of the City, and fell upon his men to beate them back, but could not prevaile, for 7000 of my Lord Manchester, and my Lord Fairfax men fell into Wombgate, and so diverted the enemy, and had a sore fight with them; the losse hitherto, is not heard on either side: The Lord Generall Leven with his Regiment fell upon a strong Fort this last night, upon a Hill, about eight score distant from Skeldergate postern, and have taken it, and 120 men in it, whereof about 35. are brought in Prisoners, the rest killed, he lost some men in that service: and in this Fort, being very considerable, my Lord intends to make a battery, and so from thence make shots at pleasure into the Towne, and it was believed that on Saturday or the next day, they will summon the City once more, and if not yeelded, then they may take the last farewell, for the souldiers are mightily enraged, and it is doubted will not be carefull to distinguish persons: Thursday night there were great fires in three severall places of the City, much of the suburbs was burned before, except such as our men have saved, and it is reported the enemy resolved to burne the City, rather then yeeld it, so that the issue is hourly expected.

On Wednesday June 13. It was certified, That on the Munday before, Sir William Waller was set downe before Shudley Castle, a house belonging to the Lord Shandrys of great strength, in which there were 300 men and great store of provision and prisoners; it being the onely let to hinder the conjunction with Colonell Massy, and the Earle of Derby and so to make up a body either to pursue His Majesties Army, or to oppose Prince Rupert, who as wee had then Intelligence was at Leverpoole. and Lancaster (as was thought) intending for Cheshire, he hath burnt and destroyed Colonell Shurtleworts house, and divers others in that County. The Garrisons of Manchester, Lancaster, Warrington and Leverpoole are very strong, and with some assistance out of Yorkshire, (which is in readinesse; will be able to make a considerable body to oppose him.

The same day at night we had certaine intelligence that Sir W. Waller had taken Shudley castle, the particulars whereof are not yet informed.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for T. B. and J. J. and are to be sold in the old Bayley. 1646

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Good news from York.

Numb. 31.

THE PARLIAMENT SCOUT.

Communicating His Intelligence

TO THE

KINGDOME.

From Thursday the 6. of June, to Thursday the 13. of June, 1644.

Thursday the sixth past, we understood by Letters from severall hands, that the King was departed from Oxford in a forlorne posture with about 4000. horse and foot, and was gone towards Banford, it was thought he would rather take the way to Worcester, then Bristol, many talke as if he was fount to draw his sword to make his Souldiers come away, which if true, is the first time that ever we heard he drew his sword, unlesse it be spoken figuratively: There is also a speech, as if there had not been that care taken that might have beene to prevent his escape or departure, but people will be talking, though they have no thanks for their paines; for the pursuite it was eagerly done, for not onely Sir William Waller pursues with all his power, but my Lord Generall with all his, 24000. horse and foot, against 4000. no doubt but they will be scattered, if over taken; We could have wishd that there had been 10000. left to block

up *Oxford*: for Sir *William Walker*, he was within two miles of the enemy when the Messenger came away, which was *Wednesday* night.

This day we had an expresse from the Leaguer before *Torke*, which confirms the retreat out of *Stooke* within *Cheshire*, with the losse of six men onely, and also that *Bolton* is taken by Prince *Rupert*, in which Town was 2000. foot, 200. horse, and 1500. Club-men; Prince *Rupert* lost a thousand men before it, the particulars farther was not known to them.

The party of horse sent from before *Torke*, which in our last we told you were at *Doncaster*, and *Rotheram*, were gone to *Wakefield*, the Scots and English by reason of the raine have suffered much in the Leaguer, and therefore Tents are sent for from *Hull*, *Cambridge*, and other places, the Scots new power are upon their march, they are 10000. Prince *Rupert* is at *Preston*, increasing much in those Roman parts, its thought he will be neere 14000. horse and foot, the Royall Scots, and the Gorgians lay then ready to joyne with him.

As for *Torke* it wants nothing, 400. head of cattell within the workes have been seene in one place, there come many out, and are not sent back, the reason we know not; the Siege will be long, unlesse it be stormed, which some thinke will be done, when my Lord *Manchesters* foot come up, which they did upon *Tuesday* the fourth.

Sir *John Meldrum* remains in *Manchester*, he is 5000. foot, and 1000. horse in the Town, but Provisions are short with him: The Gorgians are on the Mountaines in *Derbyshire*, as the Letters this day tell us, and have sent some power towards the Prince.

The same day it was resolved that Colonell *Browne* should go to straiten *Oxford* with a party from *London* of horse and foot, to whom should be joyned some out of *Buckinghamshire*, *Hartfordshire*, *Middlesex*, and from *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and *Hampshire*.

Friday we had some Intelligence that makes us thinke that the Armies are in the field in Ireland, & that the Irish might probably advance against the Scots, who would undoubtedly receive the enemy, in case he came, being willing to improve the Netherland supplies.

This day we had a confirmation from *Poole*, of the great slaughter given by the Garrison of *Lime* to the besiegers, in which neere 300. as in our former, lost their lives, what shall we do for that Governor and those Souldiers, *Gloucester* and *Plimouth* have slaine there thousands, and *Lime* its ten thousands, reward them accordingly, their will be Delinquents estates enough, it will put valour and constancy into others; if we had sooner published reward, we had not had so many revolted.

This day a Letter came from my Lord Generall, purporting the continuance

nuance of Sir *VV. VVallers* persuite, but no particulars, and also of his own being about *Chipping, Norton*.

Colonell *Purefoy* is returned with his Regiment of horse from Colonell *Massey*, by which he is exceedingly disinabled; the reason given is, they of *Easum, Worcester*, and other places did great hurt in *Warwickshire*, and why do not Counties, when they send out, take care for a defensive power, a great hinderance to our designs, one would thinke those that are so good at troubling friends should be as forward to fight against enemies, there is a difference between doing, and doing to purpose; or that most needfull.

Saturday, and *Monday*, we had these particulars following: First, that the fifth of this instant, the three Generals held a Counsell in the Leaguer before *York*, the question was whether any additionall powers should be sent towards *Lancashire*, but resolved in the negative, for the Siege of *York* must be continued, and to adde by way of stop needed not, and to force the enemy could not be in that Countie especially; the same day the Forces of my Lord *Mitchell* began to draw up towards the City, which approach caused them within for to begin to fire the Suburbs; the sixth, the Lord *Fairfax* caused some Ordnance to be placed upon the Mill hill, the taking of severall Forts, Workes, and Sconces; further we heard that Prince *Rupert* was come into *Yorkshire*, though other who are as authenticke say, it yet appears not which way he will go, or when, his be sure, he is getting a very great Army together, and if we prevent it not it will come to another *Edge-hill* businesse: Prince *Rupert* hath sent for both the forces of *Musgrave*, and also of *Goring*, which seeme to tell us he will suddenly advance.

the third our forces tooke *Walsdon*: Sir *Hugh Cholmley* sent 60. horse in the night from *Scarborough*, who came to *Buttercome*, and took Master *Henry Darley* out of his bed, and carried him away prisoner: that we have preserved by the va-

lost of my Lord *Manchester* foot a great part of the Suburbs, who do bravely, and by the Shelter of the houses come neere the Walls, the Scots have taken many cattell from the besieged, and a great Fort neere the postetne, of great concernment; a bridge is made over the *Ouse*, that the Armies may correspond the better, the City is so begirt as not so much as Intelligence can come in; we wish all this prove true, because some Letters of the 6 speak not of many of the particulars.

From the West we understand, that my Lord Generall is gone towards *Lincolne*, by *Hungerford*, intending to relieve that, and so forward for the subduing the West; for Sir *William Waller*, after he had followed the Kings forces, and found he could not reach them, they going *Worcester* way, staves at *Shredley Castle*, waiting further Order: it seemes many in the Country are willing to compound for Delinquency with Sir *William*, and a way is desired to settle that, and also to Sequester, but how it comes to passe that my Lord of *Essex*, is so far West, and non left about *Oxford*, and Sir *William Waller*, first designed for the West, commanded North, and againe to the West, we will not undertake to determine: as for the talke of neglect, crosse proceedings, and such like discourse, we shall say no more but this, private grudges, inferiour persons ruine brave designs often times: when the enemy cannot draw off a party to himselfe, then he labours to foment jealousies, and differences: let not this be among us, it keepes life in our enemies, and may hazard the destruction of this Kingdom.

The Lord of *Denby* we heare is gone into *Shropshire*: when shall we possesse our selves of their Magazie of men there: we may stand looking upon the streams, as long as we live, and never see end of the water running, unlesse we stop the fountain, had we gone sooner thither with a good party, *P. Rupert* could not have gone to *Lancashire* with so great a train, nor had opportunity of laying a foundation of more years

wars and troubles: his Majestie they say hath past *Worcester*, and is upon the other side *Severne*, and its said that Colonell *Massey* hath taken *Tewkesbury*, and severall prisoners, and good store of armes, and twenty barrells of powder, and three hundred Pikes.

The Dutch Ambassadors have beene with the Lords, and have declared their desire to tender Propositions of peace and accord, which the Lords have communicated to the Commons, and desired they would thinke upon a way: the Royall party crie out for Peace, and make us believe the stop lies in the Parliament, but they are in that cunning, for how can a Treaty be when the King cannot be got to acknowledge them at *Westminster* a Parliament.

A party continues before *Greenland*, and long may, a little will prevent an evill, but much will not cure it, little Castles we could name to you, have lost more the regaining, then whole Kingdoms the conquering.

Our Letters from beyond Seas, tels of a fight between the Danes, Holland, and Swedish Fleet, one of the Danish best Ships is sunke, and two of the Swedes stranded: this was not performed by the whole Sea power on either side, if they come to fight it will in all likelihood determine that great difference, and it were good it were, for the Prince of *Transylvania*, not having helpe from the Swedes nor France, is like to be put to it, which in all likelihood will give occasion to him, to make his Peace. The circumvolation of *Grating* is finished, the Scones of *Oye*, and *Erluse* are taken, they are now about *Philipine*, which had, they will go neer to carry the City, its blockt up by Sea in the haven also. The Spanish and Imperiall Deputies at *Amster* have publicly acknowledged the United Provinces free States, its a shrewd signe of great contending.

The Prince of *Orange* will besiege some strong place as connected in *Flanders*, but it may be he will not: the French be-

fore *Graulung* are twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse.

Tuesday we understood that the party of horse sent from *York* are removed from *Wakefield* to *Wetherby* to another quarter upon intelligence that *Rupert* was intended for the *Dales*.

There is a particular Relation of the last fight at *Lime* between the Garrisons and besiegers, we shall onely observe thus much out of it, that my Lord of *Warwicke* gives large commendation of the Garrison, and how bravely they have done, not having food, pay, or cloathes, almost to preserve life, and shall these be lost? Or was there any necessity they should be put to this extremity? when we have had for this twenty dayes past a very considerable Armie Westward: he speaks also of the valour of the besiegers, and to give them their due, it is worthy of great commendation, for their number are not above two thousand five hundred horse and foot, having lost as many before it, and to continue the Siege of that place, when they had divers places neer it besides, and with the losse of so many hundred of their men, and so many repulses, yea to disappoint the besieged by continuall assaults, it gives them abundance of glory, and consider, these men most of them came out of *Ireland*, and if they do thus bravely against their own Country men at such disadvantage, what would they have done against the Rebels in *Ireland*? had not some cursed creatures unedged them, whom we hope shall never be taken to mercy here, what they may be hereafter: But faith my Lords Letter there was a great silence in the Town, and shall any interruption be in their reliefe? God forbid.

We heare that the City of *York* is desperately bent, and sweare they will lay the place into ashes before the enemy shall have it, but we hope within few dayes to heare that they are disappointed.

Wednesday we heard that Colonell, *Purfrey* being returned from *Gloucestershire* hath not been idle, but having taken some

more

more forces from *Coventry*, and *Warwick*, hath fallen upon the house of my Lord *Northampton*, called *Compton*, and taken it, it lies between *Banbury*, and *Warwick*; there were taken prisoners Colonell *Knotsford*, Captaine *Clarke*, 60. horse, and an hundred and twenty prisoners, the place was strong.

The same day by Letters we were informed that Captaine *Molton* a Sea Captaine had taken neere *Bristol*, of *Bristol* ships, small and great thirteen come from Spaine laden with Wines, some with *Flax*, and other things, whereof there may be use in Armes; and so will become prize, there were some of them Irish, there can be no designe by Sea or Land, but Irish must be in it.

This day we understood from one that came from my Lord Generall, that he would be at *Salisbury* this night; his party that was sent before to relieve *Lime* we hope have done it, and when it is done, no doubt but my Lord Generall will returne to *Oxford*, and so as occasion. Sir *William Waller*, we are in good hope hath gained *Shewdly* Castle, and gone West by *Bath*.

His Majesty is said to be at the Bishop of *Worcesters* Castle, some five miles beyond *Worcester*; his forces up and downe thereabouts, he hath free passage into Wales, whither no doubt that power will draw, if Prince *Rupert* comes not with all his power to them, which there is as much need of, as of the relieving *York*, but to do either well, he will finde a hard work, for as its credibly reported, we are neere forty thousand men at the siege of *York*, and gone against Prince *Rupert* to stop his passage: and we have eight or nine thousand in *Lancashire*, and three thousand with my Lord of *Denby*, saith those that come thence, and then consider my Lord Generall, and Sir *William Waller* are foure and twenty thousand, the new Scots entring, *Northumberland* ten thousand, Colonell *Massy* two thousand, and Major Generall *Browne* no doubt will bee eight or ten thousand in all: in all neere one hundred thousand horse and foote, besides Garrisons, if all these fall close

to the worke this Summer, and Gods blessings goe along no doubt but the enemies have scene their best dayes, that they are like to see in this war, and if they be once digd out of England, we make no question but to ronne the most of them into some bog or other in Ireland, and then let them thence descend into Purgatory with the Popes pardon if they please.

This day a Committee sate to think of a way of seeing Preachers in *Wiltshire*, a County excellent well provided, as usually they are when a Bishops See is neere, it was conceived that there was not two in all the County that were for King and Parliament: the Gentlemen and others that were there, declared their willingnesse to have such Ministers as the Assembly should approve, and it was desired that the businesse of Ordination now resting in the Lords house, might be speeded, because if that were not, there would not be Ministers found to supply that County, much lesse all places that would be vacant, so many are the places that would be vacant, so many are the places void, and so few are the Ministers, whence we may observe, that the Parliament is not like to make a beggerly Clergy, or to destroy learning and Scholers, for we see already Ministers are the onely men sought after, and in request.

In the last there did something slip the pen, which might be taken to reflect on the Governour of *Sunderland*, Colonell *Steward*, who is reputed a man of valour and fidelity: The Captain at the South Shields was the man informed against to be blame worthy, when that Fort was lost.

There is a strong rumour come last night, as if *Yorke* did Parley: yea, some speake of an accord, which if true is excellent good newes indeed.

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AN
ANATOMY^{36.}
OF
INDEPENDENCY,

OR,
A Briefe Commentary, and
Moderate Discourse upon

The APOLOGETICALL NARRATION
of Mr Thomas Goodwin, and Mr Philip Nye, &c.

written BY Mr Aldred: Harb.
Argument, laying naked the dangers of their Positions,

AND
From Experience, discovering their spirits and wayes.

1 THESS. 5. 23.
Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.

Published by Authority.

June 14 LONDON,
Printed for Robert Bostock, dwelling in Pauls Church-
yard, at the sign of the Kings head, 1644.



Abridged Commentary, and

Imprimatur,

IA. CRANFORD.

Agreement, signed the day of 17.5.17. 1644

AND

From the printed, following their initials and notes.



Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.

Printed by Ambrose.

Printed for Robert Basset, dwelling in Pauls Church-
yard, as the sign of the Kings head, 1644.

The Preface.

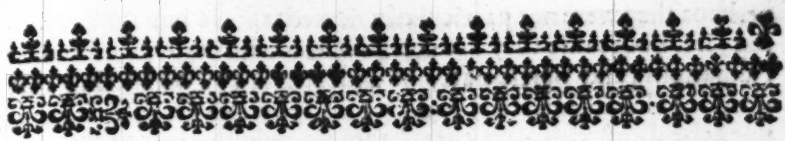
THese being times (according to the judgement of the most godly and judicious) wherein God is to make both men and every mans work manifest, and to try of what sort it is, and that by judgement beginning at his owne house, 1 Cor. 3. 13. 1 Pet. 4. 17. to the end that what cannot endure the triall, being burnt by this fire kindled in the Church of God, and what will hold weight in the ballance of the Sanctuary abiding, the unhappy and scandalous divisions, even of the true members of Christs body, being taken away, the Church may rejoyce to see her brethren dwelling together in unity.

It needs not seeme strange to any spirituall and discerning eye, to see either more differences or divisions to have appeared of late in the Church of God then formerly, or any men with the Authours of this Apologeticall Narration (as they in the beginning thereof professe) to be forced to anticipate such discoveries of themselves, and their opinions, as they otherwise resolved to leave to time and experience of their wayes and spirits: it being impossible, opinions should be thus tried, unless discovered, and that in his time who best knoweth the due season of such discoveries, and not in mans who at his best being but vanity knoweth not his time, Eccl. 9. 11. If withall we consider, that a maine hindrance unto Reformation, both of the inward judgments and affections of men, and of the outward state and condition, as of mens conversations, so of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, proceeds from a grosse mistake, whereby all opposing the wayes of the Hierarchy, are judged by the wayes of some, and equally and indifferently ranked in one rank, and delineated by one character, and under one notion of Puritan, Brownist, or Independent, if not of Anabaptist: it must be found a thing not only expedient, but also very necessary to make a full discovery of men, and their opinions and

The Preface.

wayes, that every man appearing in his own colours and livery, may be the better discerned and owned, and that wise and prudent distinction and difference between Puritan and Puritan (as the world pleaseth to call them) which King James observeth in the Preface to his Basilicon Doreen, may the better qualifie and prepare the spirits, especially of these in authority, to strengthen the hands of such as stand for Reformation, while they appeare to be such, whom King James there protesteth upon his honour, he equally loveth and honoureth with men of Episcopall humour and opinion; and that the rather, if they consider how he describeth them, to wit, Preachers and others that like better of the single forme of policy in the (then) Church of Scotland, then of the many ceremonies in the Church of England, that are perswaded, that their Bishops smell of a Papall Supremacy, that the Surplice, the cornered Cap, and such like, are the outward badges of Popish errorrs: (thus farre he :) adding that, which if it were the opinion of others in authority, likewise (to wit), that he ever esteemed these things indifferent, though they did not judge them (as they ought) evil; yet what a ready way might it make for a cheerfull yeelding unto Reformation, it being urged and prosecuted by such men. Besides, that such a discovery is very requisite, that every man may beare his owne burthen, and the innocent and sincere Professor, pursuing nor breathing after nothing but Religion, Order, and Policy in the Church, may not suffer with such as affecting singularity stumble upon disorder and confusion.

These being the sincere aymes and ends of this ensuing Discourse, though my weaknesse may perhaps in measure frustrate both me and it of obtaining these ends; yet I hope the integrity of these aymes shall procure, as, an acceptance of what shall be found subservient to these ends, so also a charitable construction of, and pardon for what may come short thereof, especially from these my brethren the Authors of this Apology, since it is their maine desire to be discovered and judged by experience of their wayes and spirits: which is the work of this Discourse.



A BRIEF
COMMENTARY
Or Discourse upon the
Apologeticall Narration, &c.

IN the entery of this *Apologeticall Narration*, our Brethren lay down the ground moving them to the writing and publishing thereof, to be the sudden and unexpected noise of confused exclamations in the interpretation of the most, reflecting on them, though not so expressly directed against them in particular.

This noise was sudden and unexpected : sudden and unexpected noyses use to arise from sudden and unexpected grounds, which makes me suspect there might be some realitie in such noyses of unexpected and strange exclamations, and expressions of Independents against Presbyteriall Government, as have come to our ears, which might be the cause of the suddenesse of these exclamations against them : but that they should not have expected this noise, as it might seem somewhat strange to any, who know how liberall, they have been from time to time to vent their contumelious and scornfull censures on Presbyteriall Government, and considers them standing at such a distance in their wayes and government from all Christian Churches ; so on the other hand, it seems no wayes strange to me, that these who are posselt with such a conceit, and confidence of themselves, their abilities in searching and finding out new Truths, and their wayes as is ordinarie for most of their mould, to be, and as this Apologie shews they are, should not expect to hear any whisper against them, though they may censure others at their pleasure. But why were not these exclamations particularly directed against them? if it be, because
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perhaps they were not particularly named, this is but a poore reason; if it be because they are not guiltie, of the matter of these exclamations, and particularly of Independency, abhorring that proud and insolent title, *pag. 21. and 23.* yet these exclamations might be directed against them (though unjustly.) Secondly, how justly they plead not guiltie in the matter of these exclamations, shall (God willing) appear in our ensuing Discourse; though we will not affirm they are guiltie of all, which perhaps might by these exclamations have been fastned on them, yet if they be guiltie, but in the least part or measure, it is enough to shew these exclamations might be at least in part directed against them. Thirdly, may it not seem strange, that these our Brethren should be so averse from owning exclamations against Independency and Independents as directed against them; whereas they not onely professe here, in this Apology what pains they have taken to find out, and establish in their Churches that Government which they know the world calls Independencie; but know also, that they are looked upon generally by all as the chief Authors, and abettors thereof in all England.

They will not own the name of Independency, yet if we speak or preach against Independency, they will tell us we preach against them, as appeared in a late instance of one of these our Brethrens own fellow-labourers in the same Congregation at *Rotterdam* with some one of his flock, expostulating with another Reverend Divine for telling his people, that that Government which they sware to maintain in the *Scots* Covenant did exclude Independency, affirming this was to preach against them.

This noise enforced them to this Apologie, and that by anticipation. That this Apology and discoverie came out by force, I can easily beleeve: for their sparingnesse in discovering themselves therein may sufficiently shew us they could have been better contented to have made no discovery of themselves at all, if something had not enforced them unto it at this time, but that that was rather the fear of loosing their expected liberty, then the noise of these exclamations, may in my judgement appear from hence:

First, the time when this Apology comes forth, when there was likelihood they should be frustrate of liberty, the desire whereof is the conclusion and result of this Apology.

Secondly, to my knowledge the most of them have heard
many

many exclamations, not onely reflecting, but particularly directed against them in Holland ere now, and I beleev in England too, unlesse their eares have been closer stopt then other mens; nay, as themselves here confesse, *pag. 23.* and yet none of these exclamations could awaken them, or enforce them to any Apology, till now at such a nick of time: but they give a sufficient reason of their former silence in England, in that same place; but whether this reason will hold water, we shall see in its own time and place.

Thirdly, if their ayme herein had been to take off those misrepresentations, and mis-apprehensions, and mistakes, and reproaches they complain of *pag. 23.* then surely in all reason they ought to have made a full and plain discovery of themselves, and their wayes, and opinions; whereas it shall (God willing) appear, that their main studie here is to cover, rather then to discover themselves, concealing most of all their differences from us, and delivering some onely in generall termes (as that the truth of Church Discipline lieth in a middle way betwixt Brownisme and Presbyteriall Government, *pag. 24.* without telling us wherein this middle way doth consist) which are means rather to confirm the world in that jealousie, that they nourish some Monsters or Serpents of opinions lurking in their bosoms, (whereof they complain, *pag. 28.*) then to perswade the contrary, though my jealousie of them shall not reach so far. Its no wonder then they tell us, that this Discovery is anticipated, and that by force: for something must be said, though against the hair, to underprop their hopes of liberty, which upon these grounds I can hardly beleev these exclamations should otherwise have wrung out; and therefore what may make for liberty shall be discovered, and that in such plausible terms as may best take; but what may prejudice this liberty shall be close covered as much as is possible. Had they not been thus inforced to this Discovery, they resolved (say they) to have left it to time, and experience of their wayes and spirits, the truest discoverers, and surest judges of all men, and their actions.

Here it is worth the observing, first, that they resolved to reserve the main Discovery of themselves to what any might see in their practise, and how loath they were to come to an Apology, or any other kind of Discovery of themselves; therefore they so couch these words, as the discovery by time is so connected unto that by

their wayes and spirits, as by this time they may mean the time of that practise of their wayes, which I find ground rather to conjecture, then that by this discovery by time they should mean a discovery by writing, or a full Declaration by word afterwards, from their limitation of that further Declaration, and more exact and scholastique Relation of their judgements in points of Difference, which they promise, *pag. 30.* where they tell us, we shall have this, (as necessity shall after require) which sheweth us, how loath they are to come to the light further then necessitie forceth them.

Secondly, that they were resolved to enter upon the practise of their wayes before any other discovery of their opinions, leaving the world to discover them by their practise if they would: either they must have resolved to have gone on in their way, without seeking or obtaining leave of the State, or they must have had a strange confidence and strange grounds whereon to build such a confidence of obtaining leave of the State, to set upon a way of their own, without giving a full account what it should be. But it is false that mens wayes are the best Discoverers of men, that is, of mens opinions: for first, mens practise may sometimes out of infirmities and weaknesse crosse their opinion. Secondly, mens wayes can only discover men to those, who see their wayes, and so their opinions in *England* might thus be undiscovered to many even there, who yet might be of the number of those Exclamators against them; whereas a discovery by writing might discover them to all. Thirdly, it cannot be the best course for satisfying the offended, to leave them to discover us by our wayes: for mens wayes cannot discover men further, then they have occasion to put those waies in practise; and there may be some of those wayes, whereof there may never be occasion, as our Brethren prove themselves, *pag. 9.* They never exercised Excommunication, how then should their opinion of Excommunication be best discovered and judged of by their wayes? Perhaps these two reasons may make them so averse from a discovery of themselves, otherwise then by experience of their wayes. Fourthly, by their wayes we may either understand the practise of their opinions as they interpret themselves, *pag. 30.* or the consequences arising upon these practises. Secondly, mens actions may be discovered, and judged either *physically*, or *morally*; *Physically*, when they are discovered in their nature and kinde, as when

Indepen-

Independency is judged to be an exemption either of the people of a particular Congregation from the Authoritative power of their Pastors, or Elders, further then they may mutually exercise the same power of government over their Pastors or Elders, or an exemption of all the members of a Church from any subjection to it self, and other Churches authoritatively assembled in a representative body of a Synod: *Morally*, when mens actions are discovered, and judged just or unjust; as when that Independencie is discovered to be a just or unjust Government in the Church of God. If by their wayes we understand the practise of their opinions, then the experience thereof cannot be the best discovery and judge of them & their actions: for thus they are onely discovered *physically*, but not *morally*, whereas both are to be discovered; it is fit both the world should know what kind of Government, and other wayes they practise or maintain, and likewise should discover the lawfulnessse or unlawfulnessse thereof, which must be discovered, and judged by another rule then these wayes themselves.

If by wayes, we understand the consequents arising upon the practise of such wayes, and thereby will discover and judge the morality of these actions, or that practise, then neither are they thus the best Discoverers and surest Judges of men and their actions, since we all know how unsure it is to judge by the event, though some consequents of our wayes may serve, to give a reasonable touch of the morality thereof: especially these that concern the intrinsecall ends of these wayes, as that Government being the best, in the practise whereof we may best attain to the ends of Government, where we see the consequents or events of any Government to be most answerable to the ends of Government, we may judge that government to be the best; and therefore one of the main and intrinsecall ends of Government being to conserve peace among the governed. 1 Tim. 2. 2. and (by our Brethrens confession, pag. 4.) Presbyteriall Government hath been accompanied with more peace then other Governments, that may be an evidence that it must be the best, and much better then our Brethrens Government, which hath alwayes been accompanied with Rents and Schismes, strife and debate, multiplying of Churches out of Churches; & the peoples casting off their Pastors at their pleasure by their Independent liberty; and if not casting them off, yet improving that power they

they assume as due unto them to the utmost in reproaching, rebuking, and drawing up Articles against them; whereof Mr. *Bridges* and others, have found plentiful experience at *Rotterdam*, to the tying out of his spirit amongst them there; in so far as he hath been often heard to affirm, that if he had known at first, what he met with afterwards, he would never have come amongst them, nor, being amongst them, have given them such scope and liberty as he had: how attainable that end of peace is also in and by their government may be perceived by that expression of Mr. *Bridges* in the time of their distractions at *Rotterdam*, that since they could not live together with peace, it was better they should separate: all their compleat power amongst themselves in their own Congregations being too narrow a plaister for to heal their sores. Hereupon a great part of that Church did without further leave, or order, or giving any satisfaction for offences, abandon the Church, and joyned with others to the erecting of that Church whereof Mr. *Sympson* was Pastor, and were by him received without any more ado, notwithstanding that their Schisme. I cannot here also passe by a notable instance of the fruits and consequents of their Government, as one of their wayes, which is this; these two Churches being of late commanded by the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* to unite again in one, and that Church whereof Mr. *Sympson* had been Pastor, (and Mr. *Symons* then was) being unwilling to joyn to the other, unlesse some members thereof should be first put off, especially one, and the Church whereof that party was a member, being willing to gratifie the other in this, and yet professing and attesting as an act of the whole Church by writing, that all the time he had been a member his conversation had been without offence; yet their Teacher must be forced, as himself confesseth, with grief of heart (having nothing to except against the person) to urge him to take his dimission from the Church. If we should judge them by such wayes, must we not judge the Officers by vertue of the peoples Independent liberty, to be enslaved to their corrupt appetites and pleasures?

If hereunto we adde the defection of some of their members to Anabaptisme, and how apt others of them are to be made a prey therein by any of that Sect that come along to seek Proselytes, more then the members of other Reformed Churches; as late instance hath

hath manifested, some having professed Mr. *Symptoms* principles have made them Anabaptists: have we not here their own Warrant to judge them by these wayes? If their wayes were but as well known in *England* as they have been at *Rotterdam*, I doubt not but many would affirm, as I have heard some, who coming out of *England* in some good opinion of them, being ignorant of their wayes, till they took notice of them there, that they would never have beleev'd that their wayes had been such, unless they had seen it.

The next truest discoverer, and surest Judge they thought to have left this discovery unto, is the experience of their spirits, but this can be no such true discovery of them, or their actions: for as the actions may in themselves be very good, and yet a spirit of pride, envie, &c. may appear in the performance of them, *Philip*. 1. 15, 16. So on the other hand, unjust and illegall actions may be managed with a very fair and approveable temper of spirit, the affection outstripping the judgement; who knoweth not that holy and learned men, as these our Brethren are known to be, may hold forth a spirit of Holiness in actions not approveable; yet since we know, that God, to shew his discountenancing and dislike of evill, even to the best, doth often leave his people to some back-bias of spirit in the prosecution of such wayes as he approveth not, and our Brethren so much desire to be judged by, experience of their spirits; as it was *Dr. Ames* his prudence and charitie not to judge simply and absolutely of *Dr. Burges* his spirit, but onely of that spirit, which God left him to put on, when he became a Rejoyner by the marks of his spirit in that work: so shall this be a fit place for us not to judge absolutely of our Brethrens spirits, but onely to discover what spirit God seemeth to have left them to in this their plea and Apology for that unwarrantable Government of theirs, and how free they are of that spirit of schisme, faction, pride, and singularity, whereof they so much labour, pag. 23. &c. to clear themselves.

To this end let any judicious Reader first observe the frame, model and style of this Apology, and they shall see it cast in such a mould as may rather dazle a popular eye by specious and Rhetoricall flourishes, and Pathetick aggravations, with Encomiastick applauses of their own wayes and proceedings, and so to steal the affections of the ignorant vulgar (more apt to be taken with
Pathetick

Pathetick expressions, then strength of reasons) then satisfy the mind of any intelligent Reader: when the common sort look on them appearing with these expressions, *pag. 3.* and consider them having all these helps they boast of to find out the truth, their freedom & exemption from these temptations that might arise, from the place they went to, the condition they were in, the company they went forth with, to bias them any way: all these enlarged in divers particulars, leaving them as freely to be guided by that touch and light Gods Spirit should by the Word vouchsafe their consciences, as the needle toucht with the Loadstone is in the Compass? What ordinarie capacitie would not beleieve it were impossible for such men to misse the mark? & so with an implicate faith follow them whithersoever they should lead them; whereto if we adde the Pathetick aggravations of their miseries, their patient forbearance of preaching, or printing any thing towards the vindication of themselves, being so every way provoked thereunto, *pag. 25.* who would not pitie, love, and have compassion on such? And how apt such affections are to beleieve men on their own bare word, the affection commanding and forestalling the judgement, who knoweth not? And yet what weight can be in all these to presse the justnesse of their cause, or truth of their deductions from thence what discerning eye cannot see? That wherein they were to satisfy the world in by this Apology, ought to have been a clear discovery of their opinions and wayes, wherein they differ from us, and a vindication of the truth and equity of these above ours; but how farre they come short in the former we have heard already, and shall yet see more fully; yea how little satisfaction any intelligent Reader can find in either of these by the Apology, may be infallibly concluded by their own words, *pag. 27.* where they profess to reserve the declaration of their judgements, and what they conceive to be Gods truth therein, to the due and orderly agitation of this Assembly; and *pag. 30.* to reserve a more exact and scholastick relation of their judgements in the points of Government about Church-government unto the more proper season and opportunity of this Assembly, &c. where we have a clear confession, that we have not a Declaration of their judgements, nor a scholastick Relation thereof, which must comprehend the Arguments to confirm the same in this Apology; (which makes me wonder how they could

could in the same, *pag.* 30. and with the same breath affirm, that thus they had nakedly, and with all simplicitie rendered a cleare and true account of their wayes and spirits hitherto) and if so, whereto serves this Apology ? unlesse it be by big and plausible words to gain the affections of the unstable vulgar, before they shall come to know their wayes, which is to hold out a popular spirit.

Secondly, though my conscience be my witnesse how little desirous I am to accuse them of pride, or partialitie ; yet that this Apologie seemeth to hold out such a spirit, I presume none shall denie, who shall but impartially consider these particulars therein. First, the confidence they have, *pag.* 3. of their looking upon the Word of God as impartially, and unprejudicially, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time that may fall out ; surely humilitie, and impartiall respect to themselves, would have blushed to own such an expression, and have taught them to judge better of others then themselves, especially the best, at least in some juncture of times ; might there not be some juncture of time as much favouring others in this, as that did them ? And in such a juncture, is it not possible, that any of the choicest of Gods people might go (though but a hairs breadth) beyond them in looking impartially on the Word of God ? Secondly, consider we the different eye wherewith they looked upon the writings and practise of other reformed Churches, and the old Non-conformists, and those of New-England, and if they have looked no more impartially on the Word of God, they shall appear to have been but flesh and blood ; here first, one argument why they judge the Discipline of other reformed Churches, not so good as their own, is, because they found that that Discipline was not so accompanied with the practise and power of Godlinesse, as they found even that in England, how-ever accompanied with more peace ; *pag.* 4. is not this prejudice and partialitie to respect a government, because they cannot discern those under that government to be proportionable in godlinesse to those whom (I think) they will not say lived under a better, but, we may confidently say, under a worse, to wit, Episcopacie ? I can hardly think they can be ignorant that evil men may live under a good government, or that they can think that some defect in the execution of good Laws, whereby libertie and licentiousnesse may encrease, must needs argue a defect in the Law

it self: I beleeve our Brethren know, that the power and practise of Godlinesse are rather the fruits and effects of the free grace of God, and a powerfull and sound dispensation of the Word, then of Government, properly so called. Secondly, they but consulted with reverence with the *practise and writings* of other reformed Churches; but they looked upon the light of the old Non-conformists as matter of advantage to them, and what they had written came more commended unto them, not onely because they were their own, but because sealed with their manifold and bitter sufferings; *pag. 4.* So also the wayes and practises of those of *New-England*, they propounded as examples to themselves, (this is more than with reverence to consult with them) and that because they had testified their sinceritie by such an extraordinarie undertaking: (as though a sincere affection and great undertaking must needs argue a right informed judgement) *pag. 5.* Let any judge, whether to judge more truth to be in any mans way or writing then in anothers, because the one is our Countreyman, the other not; because the one hath suffered, the other not; whether so to look on the undertakings and sufferings of some, as to with-draw their eyes from the, as great, undertakings, and as bitter, if not more bitter, sufferings, of others, be not extreame partialitie; and how this can consist with that standing as unengaged spectators they boast of; *pag. 5.* and whether such impartialtie, or rather partiality, as this is, in searching out truth, be not the way rather to stumble on errors then find out truth. Hereunto we may adde their partiall and tender care and warinesse of saving the credit of those of the separation, whom they will not call Brownists, but whom (say they) ye (that is, we) call Brownists; *pag. 5.* no wayes thus tender, or carefull of the credit of other Reformed Churches; but whereas, at least to make them equall with those of the Separation, they should have called them such as Papists, and Lutherans call Calvinian Churches, they stick not absolutely to call them Calvinian Churches, *pag. 22.* Thirdly, if we will take a farther scaneling of their partiality and pride in this Apologie, let us more particularly consider their aggravations of their miseries in their absence from their Countrey; as, first assuming so frequently the title of Exiles, Gods poore Exiles, *pag. 22.* sufferers even to Exile: *pag. 31.* Secondly, they tell us, these were the saddest dayes of their pilgrimage on Earth, *pag. 21.* where they endured many miseries

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the companions of banishment, and that through the distemper of the place, they hardly came off that service with their healths, yea lives: *pag. 22.* First, suppose all these things were fully so, yet they conducing nothing towards that which ought to be the aym and end of this Apologie, nor they having any such occasion of this kind of boasting, as *Paul* had against the counter-boastings of others to the prejudice of the Gospel, where he yet did apologize for his boasting, *2 Corinb. 12. 11.* What can we judge lesse then that they here side more with the Pharisee than the Apostle; but I have had occasion to be somewhat acquainted with their conditions there: and I professe sincerely that (all things considered and compared) a man in such a condition might be well content to esteem any Countrey his native Countrey, such miseries, mercies, and such dayes the most comfortable dayes of their pilgrimage, and never to desire to come off that service with life; Oh how pride and partiall self-love turns mercies into miseries!

Fourthly, look we on the excessive hyperbolicall encomiasticks, whereby they magnifie the actions and qualities of men of their own profession, and see if there be no partiall spirit; *pag. 5.* they tell us, those that went to *New-England* undertook that voyage meerly to worship God more purely, whitherto invite them there could be no other invitement; It seems they must have been very privie to the aym and byas of all these mens spirits; if they had said there was no other invitement, it had been more then they could well affirm, I having known some to have been invited, and others to have gone by other motives besides that, but that there could be no other, either as a sufficient motive in respect of it self, or at least as a motive to them, though perhaps in it self not sufficient to perswade better judgements, I presume none can beleeve, but such as resolve to point at those mens actions and ends onely with such a partiall finger, as shall put out the eye of their own common reason. Again, *pag. 22.* they tell us they lost some friends and companions, their fellow-labourers in the Gospel, as precious men as this earth bears any; I am so far from derogating from the memorie of these mens deserved worth, that I beleve in their life they would have abhorred such an applaudite.

Fifthly, compare we the weaknesse and deficiency of the Founders of Reformation in the Calvinian Churches, in attaining to the

perfection of that reformation the first day (as they call it) with their prosperous success in their second reformation, and that the first day, and see we what spirit that will discover unto us : pag. 22. it is a ground sufficient to them to judge those Churches to have need of a farther reformation, because they come new out of Poperie, and their Founders had no Apostolique infallibilitie, and so might not be perfect the first day ; They on the other hand came new out of Popish and Episcopall superstition and Conformity, having according to their own confession, pag. 3. and 4. at first never looked further then the dark part of superstitions, untill having chosen banishment, and being in that condition they were cast upon a farther necessitie of enquiring into, and viewing the light part, the positive part of Church worship and government ; whereunto if we adde, that they entred upon the practise of that worship and government as soon as they came into *Holland*, hereupon it must follow, they must have so farre exceeded our first Reformers as to become so perfect in their Reformation, and that the first day, as to find (according to their own words, pag. 20.) principles enough not onely fundamentall, and essentiall to the being of a Church, but superstructory also to the well being of it, and these to them clear and certain, and such as might well serve to preserve their Churches in peace, and from offence, (it is wonder there should such trouble and offence have been among them then) and such as would comfortably guide them to heaven in a safe way ; and consequently, either they must have had Apostolique infallibility, or must have been as blindly led on in their first practise of their worship and Government in *Holland*, as they were in their many yeers practise of their superstitious and corrupt government in *England*, and have come with such forestalled affections to enter upon their new search, as those who devour holy things, and after vows make enquirie ; *Prov.* 20. 25. it would appear the world would have come to a better and more perfect issue, if they had been the first Founders of Reformation.

Sixthly, let any judge whether, for any whose wayes lie under so much suspition and censure as they acknowledge theirs to do, not having either given a full Declaration of their opinions and judgments, nor scholastick reasons for the vindication of the same, (as we have seen also by their own confession they have not) to come

to such a judicatorie, as they acknowledge the Parliament to be, and require an allowance and toleration in the practise of their unknown, and unjustified opinions and wayes, be not a touch of such a spirit as tels even a Parliament they deserve allowance in any thing, without being bound to give an account wherein, or wherefore; if this be that respect and authoritie they give to the Civill Magistrate beyond us, we can well spare them this precedency.

What concerneth a spirit of faction, singularity and schisme, first, let the world judge, whether, for these our Brethren without the knowledge and consent of that Assembly, whereof they are members, to set out an Apologie of this nature, to desire a toleration before their wayes be known, and taken into consideration by the Assembly, and that to separate from all other reformed Churches, and stand singly by themselves, favoureth not of a spirit of faction, singularity and schisme.

Secondly, it is certain there is a party and faction, and a headstrong one too of their profession in *England*, and therefore it is not easily to be imagined, that this can be, without some influence from them, who are known to be the chief owners, and Patrons of these opinions there: there be two particulars also, which may seem to strengthen this jealousy; first, that which they *pag. 24.* expresse to prove the contrary, to wit, that they found the spirits of the people of that kingdom of *England* that professe or pretend to the power of Godlinesse, readie to take any impressions, and to be cast into any mould that hath but the appearance of a stricter way: where ye see such founding of spirits, with such Apologies, may it not encrease the jealousy of an intended faction? Secondly, how ever readie they are in their Considerations, *Consid. 1. and 6.* to dehorte others from a disorderly gathering of Churches; yet one of their own profession, who ought to know it, told me they might well dehorte others, when themselves had already gathered their own Churches; I have spoke with these also, who being at Brook-house in London to hear one of them preach, and he being suddenly call'd up to preach above, because of the crowd belowe, did hear many of them belowe affirm, they must hear him, and he must not preach, unlesse they heard, because they were of his flock; and himself was known to affirm, and professe he would preach no where unlesse his own people might be there; and is not this kinde of gathering

Churches somewhat factious, and a means to disturbe the peace of the Church, and give occasion of Divisions, as they confesse in their Considerations. Confid. 9.

Thirdly, their expressions concerning the Church of *England* their opinions, government, and practise thereof are all Divisive, and destructive of the union of the Church, denying that common authoritie and government, which is the bond of that union; even as in a common-wealth, many Cities are also one body of a common-wealth, by one common Government, and common Governors. Hence they cannot endure the name of a Nationall Church, not onely as Episcopall men absurdly understand it, meaning thereby the Bishops of a Nation, or a Convocation, but even as we rightly understand it to be meant of all the particular Congregations making one entyre body, which is represented in a Nationall Synod; and therefore in this Apologie they constantly speak of the Churches of *England* in the plurall, never of the Church of *England* in the singular number, as may be seen, pag. 5. and 6. whereas, as the unity of invisible grace, and that inward and invisible government whereby Christ inwardly governs his people as King of his Church, is to us a ground and foundation whereon to build the unitie of the invisible Church; so, also by the same consequence, are we forced to draw the unitie of the visible Church from the unity of that visible profession, which all the particular Churches hold forth, necessarily requiring one visible government of Christ, by those, unto whom he hath entrusted the keyes thereof, according to that of Cyprian, *De unit. Eccl. ex ordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstratur*; the keyes not being given to the invisible, but the visible Church; hence we are not afraid to call all the visible Churches, one Church in the singular number, and that according to expresse Scripture, 1 Cor. 10. 32. 1 Cor. 12. 28. 1 Tim. 3. 15. as being more properly the body of Christ, Col. 2. 19. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13. Ephes. 4. 4, 12, 16. the new and heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all, Gal. 4. 26. (See *Whistak Cont. 3. q. 5. cap. 3. pag. 601.*) and the Spouse of Christ, Revel. 21. 9, 10. than any one particular Church, which D. Ames confesseth to receive the name, and nature of the whole, as a similar part, and properly to be a part in respect of the whole, as the integrall, though in respect of its composition by aggregation of divers members, it is also an intire body. *Ames. Med. theol. li. 1. c. 32. Sect. 4. 5.*

But

But they labour to clear themselves of such a spirit by a twofold Argument. First, pag. 23. they tell us that schisme, which they affirm to have been a calumny cast upon them, must either relate to a differing from the former Ecclesiasticall Government of that Church (meaning the Church of *England*) established, and then (say they) who is not involved in it as well as we, or to that constitution and government that is yet to come, and until that be agreed on, established, and declared, and actually exist, there can be no guilt, or imputation of schisme from it.

To this we answer, first, that it were no sufficient plea for them, though all others were involved in it, as well as they, if it be a schisme to differ from that government, since to have many companions in sin doth no wayes excuse us.

Secondly, a naked differing from any government maketh no Schisme, but such as is accompanied with emulation, contention, and strife, whereby the peace of the Church is disturbed by dividing and separating from it, drawing away others, setting up their own Congregations apart without order, preventing the Magistrate, or stirring up strife in it: for Schisme consists rather in affection then opinion. Hence, 1. Others differing with them from the former Government may be free of Schisme, and yet they not free. Secondly, hence they might be guilty of Schisme, even in respect of that Government which yet is to be established by their obstinate and disorderly running before Authoritie in setting up their own.

Thirdly, all others differing from the former government, and yet agreeing altogether peaceably in an other are no Schismatics, and yet they differing so with them from the former, as withall they differ from all others in their own government might be Schismatics, suppose Schisme might consist in a differing in government.

The second Argument whereby they labour at large to clear themselves of a spirit of faction, &c. is taken from their long silence and forbearance to draw out such a spirit, being so manifoldly provoked thereunto, both from the advantage they had therein from the pliable humors and dispositions of the people, pag. 24. and the writings against them, and misconstructions of their silence, pa. 25. &c. To this we answer, that this is an Argument of no consequence: for what ever spirits men are of, they may in policy, either draw
out

out these spirits, or in silence forbear, according as they see the one or the other may most advantage their ends. Now what ever other ends they here pretend of their silence; yet that the main end thereof was, the better, and more easie to obtain their liberty, as themselves here acknowledge, this to be one of their ends, and a main one too, to wit, the hopefull expectation they have been entertained with of an happie latitude, and agreement by means of this Assembly, and the wisdom of the Parliament, pag. 26. yea, and that this was the onely end of their silence, may appear from hence. First, had they forbore, as they tell us, pag. 25. they did, because they knew and considered that it was the second blowe that makes the quarrell, and that the beginning of strife would have been as the breaking in of waters, then they might have published their opinions, without blows or scholastick reasons, as they insinuate they have done in this Apologie; and since they complain, that the cause and ground why mens affections are so edged against them, is the misapprehensions, and mistakes of them and their wayes; in all reason a naked relation of their points of difference from us, would have served to take away those mistakes, and so rather to appease, then increase strife: but the truth is, they knew that a full discovery of their wayes would have prejudiced their liberty, and therefore it was best to be silent, notwithstanding all provocations, and when they find it necessarie to write, they must be tender in touching any thing wherein they differ from us, but large enough in the enumeration of these points, wherein they agree with us, because the former might prejudice, but the latter may advance their liberty, *si non caste, saltem caute*.

Secondly, all other ends pretended by them, as the avoiding occasion of strife, and their respect to a peaceable and an orderly Reformation, &c. did as much urge and presse their silence now when they wrote this Apologie, as before, and yet now their libertie lieth at stake, all these cannot prevail with them to be longer silent, therefore it is evident that they were rather awakened to make this discoverie, by the hazard of their liberty, then any exclamations, which they could patiently enough hear before without awaiking. Thus if Independent-Government may be best judged by the spirit wherewith it is maintained, I trust the world may discern what sentence is fit to passe on it.

Next,

Next, they appeare in publike, and appeale, and that first unto the iudgement of the Parliament with a twofold confidence, the first of the iustice of this appeale manifested in a bold Quere, unto whose iudgements they should first appeale, but theirs as the supreame Iudicatorie of the kingdome. The second of the iustnesse of their cause, manifested in their daring, and not fearing to appeare before, and appeale unto so iust and severe a Tribunall, trusting to finde it a sacred refuge, and an *Asylum* for their mistaken and misjudged innocency. Brethren, you are yet but putting on your armour, and therefore boast not as they who put them off.

Before whom, and unto whose iudgements should you first (say you) present your selves, but to the Parliaments? First, the end of your appearing before them, you insinuate in these words (who have hitherto lien under so darke a *Cloud* of manifold misapprehensions,) so the Parliament must cleare and resolve your Ecclesiasticall controversies and differences, judge what is Independencie, what not, what Government is the best, what is Schisme, what not, I can yet hardly perswade my selfe you thinke the Parliament the fittest Judge in such causes.

Secondly, you appeare first before and appeale unto the Parliament, and that because it is the supreame Iudicatorie: but therefore ye ought to have appeared and appealed last before, and unto it, and cannot appeale immediatly unto it, without contempt of these inferior and subordinate Corporations and Iudicatories you live under, Appales being from the Inferiour to the Superiour, and from the incompetent to the competent Judge.

Thirdly, why doe they tell us of their appearing and appealing first before or unto the Parliament? doe they intend afterwards to appeare before, or appeale unto any other inferior Iudicatorie? I can conjecture no other reason why this word *First* was inserted, unlesse it were to pacifie the Assembly of Divines, in shewing themselves willing afterwards to appeare before them: but doe not themselves tell us, that they have adventured themselves upon *that way of God wisely assumed by the prudence of the State*, (meaning the way of the Assembly of Divines) in a Consciencious regard had to the orderly and peaceable way of searching out truths, and reforming the Churches of Christ; and that as the stage whereon they would first bring forth into a public view their tenets, page 28. If they know, and are in conscience

perswaded, that the way of searching truths by the Assembly of Divines is assumed by the Parliament, and that, 1. wisely, 2. as the way of God, 3. as the stage whereon first to appeare in publike view, 4. as the orderly way, 5. promised so to doe, then doe they not commit a fault against knowledge, conscience, and promise, and that foolishly, and breake and invert order, and the way of God and man in appearing first in publike view before the Parliament, contrarie to the Parliaments owne prudent order; specially since their appearing before the Assembly is by themselves, *page 27.* acknowledged to be an act of as great confidence (they calling it the most judicious and severe Theater of all other) as this in appealing to the Parliament, as the most just and severe tribunall. If their innocency in other things be no better, than this kinde of contraveining the order of Parliament, they will have but little reason to expect to finde it a sacred refuge for such innocencie.

This kinde of disorderly appeales troubling Parliaments with such matters, the decision of Ecclesiasticall controversies, inverting the order of Legall proceedings, contemning the Order of Parliaments, and slighting and neglecting inferiour Judicatories, may shew us, how likely it is that their mould will be coexistent with the peace of any forme of civill Government on earth, as they asseme, *page 3.* Though it hath been observed to be the impudently false language of some, that their mould and Government is the maine cause of Christ, the Parliament contends for: yet I suppose the peace of this Parliamentarie Government hath beene somewhat disturbed by their mould, and if it be the same with that of *Brownists*, to wit, popular Government, as experience hath and doth hitherto demonstrate, (what ever middle way they tell us of, *page 24.*) then the many long and bitter Law-suits before the Governours and Government of Amsterdam, flowing from the shameful rents and divisions, occasioned by that mould, may tell us how likely their mould is to be coexistent with the peace of any civill Government on earth; neither hath the peace of the civill Government of Rotterdam been altogether free of disturbance by their mould. I could yet give other Symptomes of the coexistencie of their mould with the peace of any other civill Government, if I would follow their example, in going about to exasperate the spirits of those in authoritie against them, as they endeavour to doe against us, by telling the world, *pag. 19.* that they give as much, and (as they thinke) more to the Magistrates power,

power, then the principles of Presbyteriall government will suffer us to yeeld: or if I had not more respect to the advancement of Reformation, then to thinke the whetting of the edge of authoritie (already so sharp) against who desire and urge it might be no hinderance thereunto: if that conscientious apprehension of the danger of rending and dividing the godly Protestant party in that kingdome that were desirous of Reformation, and of making severall interests among them, in a time when there is an absolute necessitie of their neereſt union and conjunction, and all little enough to effect that Reformation intended, and that conscientious regard to a peaceable way of reforming the Churches of Christ, whereof they make such sad profession, pag 25. 26, and 28. were to be judged by such an endeavour as this, to rend the head further from the members, and the members from one another, I leave the impartiall to apprehend whether they should not rather be found to be hinderers, then furtherers, both of the Peace and Reformation intended, unlesse they apprehend their Government to be the Reformation intended, the *Calvinian* and *Presbyterian* Churches standing in need of that farther Reformation, wherein the first Founders of Reformation shot short, and therefore the better to advance their Reformation, they may conceive it fit to blow the coale, and helpe to make Presbyteriall Government the more odious in the eyes of authoritie, as a deformation equall with Episcopacie on the one hand, and worse on the other hand, in derogating from authoritie what theirs giveth. These men and Bishops may in the end be like to agree, and conspire againe *In odium tertii*: for better one Bishop then many.

After an enumeration of the helps and advantages they had to finde the Truth, which we shall not need further to touch, at the end of the fifth page they give an account of their opinion of the Churches and Ministry of *England*: where they tell us, all the defilements thereof did never worke in them any other thoughts, much lesse opinion, but that Multitudes of the Assemblies and Parochiall Congregations thereof were the true Churches and Bodie of Christ, and the Ministrie thereof a true Ministrie; where it is plaine, they acknowledge onely Multitudes, of, nor all the Churches of *England* true Churches, and the Ministrie of these Multitudes, not all, a true Ministrie. Me thinkes, Candor and ingenuitie, would here have required a plaine and free Declaration, what sort of Congregations and Ministrie they approve, and what sort they approve not, and upon what grounds; but such plainnesse

nesse had full ill suted the end and aime of this Apologie, and therefore I must be at the paines to unfold this mysterie for them, to such as know it not.

The difference then betwixt them and us in this particular consists herein. First, whereas *Carrwright, Parker*, and other Non-conformists agree with us, in the lawfulness and expedience of confining, for orders sake, particular Churches within the bounds of severall distinct Parishes, they with the Separatists thinke this confinement unlawfull, (though not in that degree to disannull, or annihilate the essentiall being of that Church so confined) but would have a libertie left to any where ever they live, to joyne to what Church they thinke good; and though I cannot say, they take on any as members, who cannot, by reason of the distance of their habitation, be ordinarily present and joyne with them in the worship of that Church, whereof they are members; yet being admitted members, let them remove their dwelling, and settie where they will, yea even to other Countries, yet, unlesse they have taken a formall dismission, they are accounted as members of that Church still, though it were after divers yeares residence elsewhere, and have as full power in matters belonging to that Church, as those who are residents where the Church is. An instance whereof there was not long agoe at Delph in Holland, where an English Church being begun to be formed, and upon the removall of him, who was to have beene Pastour, to Rotterdam, and other occasions, all the men, who had beene received members, having also removed thither, and to other places (two or three excepted) yet in the opinion of Rotterdam, those remaining must be a Church still; and rather then faile, those who were removed must stand members, and joyne with those two or three left at Delf, and must have power to call a Pastor, and take on members to the Church of Delf, they living at Rotterdam and elsewhere; and Mr. *Forbes* must be cryed out on, as the breaker of the Church, because he would not suffer such a course to go on. Secondly, whereas it is a maine foundation, whereby to iustifie that mixture, which they condemne in Parochiall Churches, and to owne even such, who being baptized and professing the Protestant religion, after being come to yeares, though in their conversation they appeare openly prophane, as members of the Church, though not to be admitted to the Lords Supper: yet so as the Rulers of the Church are bound to have the oversight of them, and use the rod of Discipline against them, that

the baptized children of the members of the Church are by vertue of their Baptisme made members of the Church: for since Baptisme doth initiate them in the Church, it cannot be in the invisible, but in the visible particular constitute Church whereof their parents are members, or wherein they are baptized; for by the former, wee should, besides other absurdities, stumble upon the Popish *Opus operatum*, and every baptized child should *ipso facto* be regenerated, yet their principles will not allow this, which hold, that none are members of a Church, but such (that I may speak in *Parkers* words, *de Polit. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 16. sect. 1.*) as being gathered by Christ into his Church by the ordinary meanes of the preaching of the Gospell, are by that preaching prepared, and voluntarily enter into covenant with the Church, and are fit for participating in the Lords Supper.

And hence their third and main difference from us, we may perceive in the first reason, whereby they labour to vindicate themselves from blotting the Congregations of England out of the roll of true Churches; because by the same reason (say they) the Churches of Scotland and Holland (for their mixture) must be judged no Churches also: Where they imply, not onely that their Churches are free of such a mixture, but their meaning is, that though there may be a Church, where there is this mixture of good and bad, yet in their opinion the Church consisteth onely of the good, requiring inward and true grace to the essentiall being of a member of a visible Church, still telling us with the Brownists, that a Church must consist of true Saints, alledging that place 1 *John* 2. 19. So then looking upon multitudes of the Parishes of England, having some true sanctified ones amongst them, them they looke on as the Church, and such Parish-Churches for true Churches onely, and that in respect of these members. This may appear more plainly in that they admit none to communicate with them but who are members of a Church, and whom they acknowledge for such by their true godlinesse, may be seen *pag. 6.* at the latter end, where they tell us, they did proffer to receive into communion of the Lords Supper with them, some (whom (say they) we knew to be godly) upon that relation, fellowship, and commembership they held in England: hence a godly Minister comming to Arnhem, and desiring to communicate with them, he must first declare unto them that he was fully perswaded that there were some truly godly among those whom he had received as members of the Church, whereof he was Pastor;

because otherwise they would not have acknowledged that Church for a true Church, and so could not have admitted him being no member of a true Church, (they admitting none but such.) Hence it is that we have *D. Ames, Medul. Theol. lib. 1. cap. 32. sect. 11.* making true inward faith onely the internall and essentiall state of a visible member of a visible Church, as well as of a member of the Catholike, or invisible Church: and externall profession the outward and accidentall state even of a member of a visible Church: whence it must follow, that both the visible and invisible Church must have one essentiall forme, and so the visible Church shall be essentially the invisible Church, and the invisible Church essentially the visible Church: Also, that hee who is a member of the invisible Church must, *ipso facto*, be also a member of the visible Church, as being in the essentiall state thereof; whereas in truth outward profession is as essentiall and intrinsecall to the visible Church, as inward grace is to the invisible, and puts a man in the essentiall state of a member thereof, as really as inward grace doth in the essentiall state of a member of the invisible.

Fourthly, such Churches where there is either an explicite or implicite Covenant betwixt the members (ever supposing them to be true Saints) and the Pastor, and betwixt the members among themselves, these they hold for true Churches; but where there is no such Covenant as they must, and do imagine there is not in many parishes in England, there being in the Parish none who have thus bound themselves to one another, or to the Pastor, these Churches, or Parish Congregations they hold for no true Churches, nor the Ministry thereof a true Ministry: Hence *pag. 7.* at the beginning, they tell us, they offered to receive some in Communion with them, whom they knew godly, by virtue of their commembership, relation, and fellowship they held in their Parish Churches in England; they (say they) professing themselves to be members thereof, and belonging thereunto: their meaning in these words being, that they acknowledged them members, knowing them godly by virtue of this their profession, this including that Covenant, whereas without this profession, and acknowledgement of themselves to be members of that Parish Church, they would not have received them into communion with them, as not acknowledging them as members of any Church.

Here two things are to be noted, as their Tenets and Practice: First, that they acknowledge no man a true Minister by virtue of his Ordination

Ordination in England; but all their acknowledgement of any true Ministry in England, is onely by virtue of an explicate or implicate Call, grounded on that explicate or implicate Covenant with him. Hence they all renounced their Ordination in England, and ordained one another in Holland: When Master *Ward* was chosen Pastor, and Master *Bridges* Teacher at Rotterdam, first Master *Bridges* ordained Master *Ward*, and then immediately Master *Ward* again ordained Master *Bridges*. Secondly, they receive none to communicate with them but such as are, and by them acknowledged to be, members of Churches: So that a man may bee to their knowledge and acknowledgement in Christ, in covenant with God, and so have interest in all the promises of God, live without scandall, able to examine himselfe, and yet he shall be by them denyed the seal of that Covenant, though he be east out of that membership, by force, necessity, and persecution. Hence when Master *John Forbes* was violently thrust from his Ministry among the Merchant Adventurers at Delph, by *Canterburies* meanes, he with his whole family were denyed the Communion at Rotterdam: and one of the members at Rotterdam taking grievously on, because one of the Merchants Adventurers (who out of conscience had renounced the Merchants Church, when Master *Beaumont* became Pastor to it) did communicate with them, and being asked why he took such offence thereat, being he knew the man to be godly, answered in my hearing, That he had as much to doe with an Heathen and a Publican as with him, so long as he was no member of a Church: So they dote on the Communion of Churches alone, as they forget the Communion of Saints.

Pag. 7. They tell us of the respect wherewith they were entertained by the Reformed Churches abroad, and what mutuall respect they gave them back again.

To this we answer, First, That whatever respect personall, or otherwise, might have been shewed them at first, it might and did proceed, 1. From their being looked on as men forced to leave England, by the Bishops persecutions. 2. From the benefit the members of their Churches residency brought to the places where they lived. 3. From the ignorance of their wayes; and therefore let us see what respect they had when their wayes were knowne: Those of them who were at Rotterdam, know what opposition Master *Parke* had from the Dutch Church at Delph, the Ministers thereof drawing their main plea from the confusions

confusions and schismes of Rotterdam, obieſting them continually, fearing the wayes of their Church to be erected at Delph might be conformable to theirs; and warning the Magiſtrates of Delph openly out of the Pulpit, to take heed what Engliſh Preacher they allowed there, left one Church might quickly multiply in two or three, and thoſe of ſeverall wayes, as they affirmed it to be in Rotterdam. Neither are they (as I beleeve) ignorant how much the Dutch Preachers of Rotterdam ſolicited the Magiſtrates, that they might be commanded to bring their differences to the Claſſes or Presbyterie, whereby ſuch members, as finding themſelves aggrieved, complained to the Dutch Preachers or Claſſes, might find a way of redreſſe.

Secondly, I know no other entertainment any of their Churches had there, but what other Sectaries had, ſave onely one of their two Churches at Rotterdam, where their Preachers had maintenance allowed them, and that was by reaſon that that Church was formerly under Presbyteriall Government, and conformable to the Dutch Churches, and had onely begun to decline towards their wayes, a little before their coming to it, in Maſter *Peters* his time, who yet notwithstanding profeſſeth himſelfe at this houre to be a Presbyteriall man, for all his having been in New England, ſince his being Paſtor of that Church: Maſter *Symptoms* Church maintained their owne Officers, and preached in a private houſe, which they then fitted to be a publike allowed Church ſince, (if this word, Church, in this ſenſe be not offensive to them).

Thirdly, What may concerne the mutuall reſpect they gave unto, and correſpondency they alſo held with the Reformed Churches: We confeſſe they acknowledged them for true Churches, yet it is not unknowne with what diſdaine and cenſure, they, and their Presbyteriall way have been commonly ſpoken of at Rotterdam; neither can they ſhew us ſuch a correſpondency and fraternity between them and theſe Churches, as I am (and I beleieve truly) informed Maſter *Symptoms* Church (whether by him, or after his time by Maſter *Symons* I have not enquired) entred in, with thoſe of the Separation at Amſterdam, by a mutuall covenant and agreement to owne each other. I beleieve it to be by vertue of that correſpondency and covenant, that ſome of their members, not Officers of the Church, nor Eccleſiaſticall perſons, doe publicly preach in Maſter *Cans* Pulpit at Amſterdam.

In their Relation of the waies and practices of their Churches, pag. 8.
they

they are so wise as to borrow some of that humane prudence which they so much condemne in matters divine, *pag. 10.* for scarce touching any thing, wherein their wayes and practices differ from ours, they onely mention such particulars wherein we agree; *pag. 23.* they grievously complaine that the odious name of Brownisme, together with all their opinions, as they have stated and maintained them, are cast upon them; a man would think therefore that it should concern those men, in the account they give of their wayes and practices, to shew the world fully how much they differ from Brownists, if they would have that imputation taken off: and yet, in the enumeration of their wayes and practices, they mention nothing but what is the way and practice of the Brownists in conformity with us, as fully as theirs: They tell us in the first place, that publike worship was the same with that of the Reformed Churches; but they doe not tell us whether their publike Worshippers be the same or not, there being here a wide difference betweene them and us; for whereas we appropriate publike preaching and praying to the Ministers alone, by virtue of their Office, (they being onely appointed by God to be his mouth to the people, and theirs to him) their common and ordinary practice alloweth this liberty to any man of the Congregation, in whom they apprehend ability thereunto, so that hee is a publike Preacher to day, who to morrow is no more, nor hath more charge in the Church then the meaneſt member; hath not Master *Lawrence*, a Gentleman and no Preacher, yet preached all this while at Arnhem, while his brethren were in England? but this had too neere affinity with Brownisme, and therefore it was prudence to conceal it: neither was some of their preaching and prayers altogether the same with the preaching and prayers of the Reformed Churches, as I was informed from Master *Symons* often hearers, and very good friends; who told me, his Prayers and Sermons contained little or no matter of confession of sinne, or threatening of judgement, or what concerned the Law, or repentance; but of exalting the grace of God in Christ already wrought, and of thanksgiving, as being bound to frame his Sermons, and direct his speech to the benefit of none but those of his owne Church, on whom he looked as already converted; theſe therefore hee was onely to confirme and awaken to thankfulneſſe, and not to aime at the conversion of any, it being the ordinary opinion among them, that this is not the worke of a Pastor. Thirdly, in the matter of singing of Psalmes, which they reckon one part of their publike worship, they

differ not onely from us, but are also at variance among themselves; some thinking it unlawfull for any to sing but hee who preacheth, and this hath been the late practice at Arnhem; others thinking it unlawfull for women to sing in the Congregation; hence some women at Rotterdam doe not sing with the rest of the Congregation: I heare also they think it unfit for any at all to sing in such times of the Churches trouble as this. Fourthly, they differ from other Reformed Churches in their publike prayers; for whoever preach or pray otherwise among them, yet none must pronounce the blessing but the Pastor; neither doe they esteem it lawfull to use the Lords Prayer in publike. Fifthly, in the Administration of the Sacraments they differ from them also; for they will baptize none but the children of their owne members.

Secondly, They tell us their Officers are the same with those allowed by the Reformed Churches; but so are the Brownists Officers also: Why did they not tell us, whether their way of calling and ordaining their Officers was the same or not? here we should have seen that an Officer cannot be called among them, unlesse he be first a member of their owne Church, as among the Brownists: So that if they be to call some one who hath been, or is a Pastor elsewhere, he is not capable of a call to be their Pastor; but they must onely call him to be a member with them, and he must take his hazzard of being called Pastor, after he hath left his former charge, and joyned in membership with them; and I assure you, this may prove a hazzard sometimes amongst them: So here we should have seen that not onely the power and practice of Calling, but also of Ordination, is wholly and solely in the hands of all the Congregation indifferently amongst them: neither were all their Officers the same with those of the Reformed; for I heare of no ruling Elders that ever Master *Sympton* had in his Church, but that he thought that Office unlawfull; which sutes better with their principles then the contrary: for if the Keyes of Government and Discipline be given to all the faithfull, what Keyes of this nature should these Elders have apart? These Elders are (say they) with them, not Lay-men, but Ecclesiasticall persons, separated to that service: But, Brethren, have all Churches ability to maintaine them? is every Church furnished with men of such abilities, as you require these Ecclesiasticall Elders to be? your Church at Rotterdam hath long wanted Elders, and that, by their owne confession, for these reasons: and if the troubles end in England, they may be like to want them still; and therefore, Brethren, doe you think

thinke Christ hath confined his Church within the compasse of these Straits?

Thirdly, the matter of Government (say they) and Censures was the same, which all acknowledge, *viz.* Admonition, and Excommunication; but was, or is the form the same also? doe they not plead as hard for the peoples right, and power in Government, and Excommunication, equall with that of the Rulers, without subjection either to Consistoriall, or Presbyteriall authority, as ever Master *Canne* did for Sions Prerogative Royall? and yet these mens way of Government must lie in a middle way, between Brownistickall and Presbyteriall Government, *pag. 24.* I doubt when this middle way shall be discovered, it shall be found *medium abnegationis* in respect of Presbyteriall, and *medium participationis* in respect of Brownistickall Government. By these particulars it may in measure appeare how just cause they have to complaine, that all the opinions of the Brownists are cast upon them, and what warning they took by the Land-marks, and Ship-wracks of the Separation, of these rocks and shelves they runne upon, as they professe, *pag. 5.* to have taken: and it is worth the noting, that *pag. 23.* they doe not complaine, that they are simply made to owne all the opinions of Brownisme, but that they are made to owne them as they are stated and maintained by them; doe but state them otherwayes, which may be done without any great materiall difference, and the occasion of that complaint is taken away. Fourthly, they tell us they use Excommunication onely upon obstinacy and impenitency, and that for sinnes against the parties knowne light, and the light of nature, &c. A man would think these our Brethren were very sparing of their censures, yet they have been observed, by all who have known their waies, to censure some persons for some such causes, as no well Reformed Church would censure any; but to passe that, together with the danger of their restraint of Excommunication to such sinnes as they doe restraine it to, onely, me thinks, what they here affirm is not very suitable to that their practice, whereof I am informed by those who ought to know it, to wit, they having some discourse in their publike meeting concerning the introduction of that which they call *Prophecy*, in their Church at Rotterdam, and of dissolving the Church, that they might cast one in their owne mould; whereupon six or seven members standing up, and telling them, they would complaine to the Magistrates that they were Brownists, and were a going to change the Church

into a Brownist Church, it was immediately voted about, whether these members should not instantly be excommunicated? and was carried affirmatively, and should accordingly have been executed, had not Master *Bridges* his prudence prevented it. I think it may be much questioned, whether these men here sinned against their known light, or the light of nature? however, sure the time was very short to convince them of impenitency and obstinacy.

Next they come to their Principles, the first whereof is to follow the patterne and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles, and not to move beyond the direction of the Scripture, not daring to eek out what was defective in their light with humane prudence. brethren, Scripture is a full and perfect rule; yet you confesse here, that there is such a blemish in our eyes, as we cannot come to a cleare knowledge of the directions and examples therein, especially to finde out rules for all cases, though they be to be found; why then, when any case may occurre, a rule concerning which we cannot finde in Scripture, yet, if we may find a rule for it in prudence, which Scripture doth not crosse, nor is Scripture, must we there suspend all practice, when the case urgeth something to be done, and prudence furnissheth reasonable and equitable grounds and wayes to proceed in? When we finde generall rules in Scripture, as of Decency and Order, must not prudence help us to apply them fitly to particulars? When we urge them often, from their owne principle, with the Apostles directions and examples in Government and Ordination, it being never left to the people in Scripture, &c. they are ready to tell us, the Apostles were extraordinary persons, and therefore not imitable: must not prudence here umpire the businesse, and shew us what actions are imitable, or not imitable in the Apostles? We have seen they can sometimes help themselves with prudence, yea such humane prudence as we shall never owne: When he which succeeded Master *Bridges* was asked why he would, against his heart, and with grieve, at the peoples desire, urge that Member of whom we have made former mention to leave the Church, he answered he took the prudentiall way. Whether was it the rule of Scripture, or humane prudence, that put them at Rotterdam on that resolution of dissolving the Church, both first and last, that they might be free of such members as were not of their mould? Wee have a generall direction in Scripture, that the members of a Church shall entertaine Church-communion together; some kinde of prudence taught some
women

women at Rotterdam for a long time to apply this rule to a particular practice of communion together every weeke, in ioynt fasting and prayer, till better prudence hath of late taught them to leave it. God give all of their minde and way prudence to apply Scripture fitlier, and more properly then they usually doe in these contröversies with us, and then our Brethren doe here that particular Scripture of the old and new garment, to that purpose for which they apply it. The rules of divine and humane prudence may be the same, and equally appliable to humane and divine matters, as the Morall law, and the law of Nature are. We hope both Scripture and prudence, and if neither of these, at least experience shall in the end teach our Brethren, that popular Government is not the way to preserve Churches in peace, and from offence.

Their second Principle was, not to make their present iudgement and practice a binding law unto themselves for the future. I think no man makes his practice a law for the future; but why durst they not trust their present iudgement? they are ieaious of themselves (say they) because they had too great instance of their frailty, in the former way of their conformity. Here we see first that they were ieaious and doubtfull, whether that Worship and Government they practised was right or not, fearing their iudgements might be misinformed in this, as in their former conformity: where is then the truth of what they affirm immediately before? that they found in the word Principles enough, not onely fundamentall and essentiall to the being of a Church, but ~~superstru~~ *superstru*ctory also for the wel-being of it, *and those to them cleare and certaine.* Secondly, they commend this as a Principle to be carried about with us, not to make our present iudgements a binding law to us for the future: I grant this is a good Principle where men are so uncertaine and ieaious as they were, and hope this Principle may be a meanes of their union with us in the end, which is the thing our soules breathe after; but to such as have attained to a certainty of the truth and equity of their wayes, they are bound to make that certainty a binding law for their future practice: neither did I thinke that our Brethren would have us live in a continuall wavering and doubting, and not, according to the rule, bee perswaded in our minds, *Rom. 13. 15.* and not condemne our selves in what wee allow, and sinne in all wee doe, not doing it of faith, *ibid.* 23, 23.

Their third principle was, to choose still to practise safely, and so as they had reason to judge that all sorts, or the most of all the Churches did acknowledge warrantable, although they make additaments; here their rule is, 1. to practise safely; 2. they measure this safe practise, by all or the most Churches acknowledgement of that practise to be warrantable, as may appeare by their first instance, the taking in of members, wherein (say they) they choose the better part, and *so be sure*, (that is, to practise safely) received in none, but such as all the Churches in the world would by the balance of the Sanctuary acknowledge faithfull. First, this principle crosseth the first, where they justly made the Scripture the onely measure of safe walking. Wee are much to honour the unanimous consent and practise of Churches, and wish our brethren would not so easily take up singular practises of their own, which they so unanimously condemne, or reject those which they approve: but wee require them not to make their warrant the rule of safe practise to them. Secondly, in this their first instance, where they say, they received none, but such as all the Churches judged faithfull, if they would hold to their principle in stead of (judged faithfull) they should have said, (judged warrantable to receive;) for all the Churches may acknowledge some faithfull, whom they will not judge warrantable to receive. Thirdly, it is neither the safest way, nor doe all, or the most Churches judge it warrantable to receive none, but whom all the Churches in the world shall acknowledge faithfull; what if any one, or some Churches such as theirs, or the *Brownists*, may not (as they doe not) acknowledge some, yea many faithfull, whom other, yea, I dare say, all other Reformed Churches will acknowledge such, doe they therefore thinke that all the other Churches will judge it warrantable, that these shall not be received, because they acknowledge them not faithfull? Fourthly, if they thinke they walke safely in practising so, as all sorts, or the most Churches judge warrantable, then, why doe they not receive such others, besides them they doe receive, whom, I beleeeve, they know the most part of other Reformed Churches acknowledge warrantable to receive? Why is not the warrant of the most of other Churches as powerfull with them in these things, which they call their additaments, as in other things? must not their answer be, because all the Churches acknowledge what they doe lawfull and good, but they cannot iudge, that which other Churches doe beyond them,

them, lawfull, and so the English of their practising, so as all, or most Churches shall acknowledge warrantable, must be, that they will embrace and follow the warrant of other Churches, though the most, or all, so farre as they shall have their owne warrant, and so the safetie of their practise shall be measured by their owne, not the warrant of any or all other Churches; but to come to particulars, do not all, or the most Churches acknowledge it warrantable, and safe to receive such whose tender hearts may cast them in such doubting, (notwithstanding their exemplary conversation) as they dare not professe themselves to be converted, and so proffer themselves to the church in their desire of enjoying ordinances of Christ, as having interest therein in Christ, as they require to be done by every one, whom they receive: one whom they will acknowledge as holy and savourie a Christian as any in their Church of Rotterdam told me, that Mr. Bridges having urged them to become a member of that Church, the partie answered, they could not, as not daring to make such a profession, not having that assurance of their conversation or interest in Christ. Secondly, the most Churches thinke it the safest way to hazzard to erre rather in the excesse, then in the defect of charitie; yea that charity is to umpire the businesse, whether to judge the partie faithfull, or worthy to be received, or not, in respect of some acts of some sin, or sins in him, on the one hand, and other wayes and carriages, as signes of sinceritie on the other hand; but their practise is not futable to this practise and judgement of most Churches: for they receive none, but whom all the Churches in the world shall acknowledge, that is, evidently see without scruple to be faithfull. Thirdly, all or most Churches think it safe and warrantable, that those who are to be received, be tryed by the Gavernours of the Church, and that apart from the Congregation and not to allow a licentious liberty to all, and every member of the Church, to goe first and enquire in their wayes and conversations, and to examine them by private conference, and then cauf them to make a publike confession of their faith, in the hearing of all the Church; whereby many that have not the least, but even much of Christ, are many times, out of bashfulnesse and other respects, kept out; but their practice herein is quite contrary to this judgement of most Reformed Churches. Fourthly, they here tell us,

us, they took measure of no mans holinesse by his opinion, whether concurring with them, or adverse unto them, that is, be of what opinion he will, if they can finde holinesse in him, which they measure not, nor iudge by his opinion, they received him: but I am sure all the other well Reformed Churches in the world, will be so farre from acknowledging this practise warrantable, as they contrarily will iudge this a very Heterodox position, as admitting not onely Brownists, Arminians, and Lutherans, and Anabaptists to be members of their Churches, but not excluding men of any opinion whatsoever, and iudging holinesse may consist with any the grossest opinion; and so Arrians, and Socinians may be holy men; but charitie forceth mee to beleieve, that though our Brethren have here over-reached themselves in their expressions, yet their meaning was onely to shew they admitted Protestants of all opinions, for them, or against them and their holinesse; they did not measure by their opinion, as we may collect from that immediate following expression, where they tell us, they were sure no Protestant could but approve (as touching the members of it) of Churches made up of such; but my Brethren, you are more confident of this also, than you have reason: for I beleieve, no Protestant, but themselves, will either approve of Brownists Churches, or allow any Reformed Church to receive Brownists, shewing, and professing themselves to be Brownists, or Separatists as members, a profession of the Orthodox Faith and Truth of the Gospell, and a Communion with, and acknowledgement of the true Churches of GOD, without Schisme from them, being requisite in such members as the Reformed Churches will approve: Neither can wee see how they can receive any Protestant, though hee differ in opinion from them: for how can they receive any of the opinion of Presbyteriall Government, since such must not onely refuse to take a share of their Keyes in his owne hands, as not iudging the Keyes to belong to him; but also to submit himselfe to their Government, as being in his opinion unlawfull, will they receive such a one? I trow not.

Passing their second instance, I come to the third, wherein the maine controversie between them and us doth consist : And here they misse-shape and mistake the Question, that we scarce know where or how to fasten on them. For first, they being (according to their Principle) to shew, that what is their practice in the matter of Government and Discipline, is acknowledged warrantable by all, or the most of the Reformed Churches ; to shew this, they first tell us, that however the practice of the Reformed Churches be, in *greater matters* to governe each particular Congregation by a combined Presbyterie of the Elders of severall Congregations, united in one for Government ; yet so as in their judgements (meaning of the Reformed Churches) they allow, especially in some cases, a particular Congregation a compleat and intire power of jurisdiction to be exercised by the Elders thereof within it selfe ; (thus far they.) Here they themselves give us three Restrictions of that power, which by the judgment of the Reformed Churches is given to particular Congregations within themselves ; and so (according to their Principle) their practice of that power ought to be bounded by those Restrictions, that so it may be judged warrantable by the Reformed Churches. Now let us examine whether it be so or not. The first Restriction must be, that particular Congregations must have this entire and compleat power within themselves onely in smaller matters ; for in *greater matters* (say they) the practice of the Reformed Churches is, to governe them by a Presbyterie. But doe they not assume this power in all, even the *greatest matters*, as in their sole calling and ordination of Officers, and Excommunication, &c ? Nay, doe not these words (*intire and compleat*) exclude all limitations ? Doe not these words, *pag. 14.* where they profess to assume a *full, intire, and compleat power within themselves untill (say they) we should be challenged to erre grossely*, shew us, that they do not so much as acknowledge themselves bound to require the help of other Churches, even in their consultative way, without any authoritie, and that in the *greatest matters*, untill they be *challenged to erre grossely* ; which cannot be till the error be committed, and consequently till they have increased their power in that wherein their error is. The second Restriction, whereby they acknowledge the Reformed

Churches have limited particular Congregations in their power, is, in that they allow them this power within themselves (say they) in some cases onely; and this we doe not denie: for in case a particular Church be solely remote from other Churches, that it cannot enjoy the benefit of a Presbyterie, we deny it not an exercise of power within it selfe; for *Necessity hath no Law*; and this case is extraordinarie, and so cannot be regulated by ordinarie Lawes: but doe they not assume this full and compleat power in all, and not in some cases onely, and so walk without the circuit of their Principle? The third Restriction is, that the Reformed Churches allow all this power in particular Congregations (say they) to be exercised onely by the Elders thereof. Here, if by the *exercise of that power by the Elders*, they meane, that the execution onely of that power is proper to the Elders, and that the power it selfe belongeth to all the members of the Congregation; then, first, they wrong the Reformed Churches, in making them to give onely the exercise of that power, and not the power it selfe, to the Elders: Though some particular men may derive the power from the bodie of the Church to the Officers, yet I beleieve they shall finde no Reformed Churches but will as firme, that the Officers have the power of jurisdiction it selfe, as well as the exercise thereof; the Reformed Churches leave this opinion to them, with Papists, Prelates, and Brownists: and so they want the warrant of the Reformed Churches in this also. Secondly, suppose the Reformed Churches did allow onely the exercise of power to the Elders alone, doe they so also? No surely, if giving suffrage and definitive sentence, calling, examination, and ordination, and deposition of Officers, excommunication, publike preaching, and praying, be exercises of power, which any member of the Congregation may, and doth as well exercise amongst them as the Elders. When that businesse of the deposition of their Pastor was in debate between them of *Rotterdam* and those of *Arnhem*, as they had all had a hand in this deposition, so in that meeting did not the richer sort of the Church agree to make up the losse, which the poorer sort complained they did sustain by being kept from their work, that they might all stay, to the end the busines might be agitated by all their suffrages, and by their common power; (here by the way, me-thinks such inconveniences

niences as these, commonly attending their Government, might shew them, it must be rather a yoke than a prerogative:) besides, will they affirme that all the while either the one or the other Church of *Rotterdam* wanted Elders, they could have no exercise of Government; there is no Elder there at this present, nor hath been since Mr *Burroughs* went away, yet they will confesse they assume both a power and practice of Government, (by Elder I here meane onely a *Ruling-Elder*, for I know they will not say the Pastor can governe alone:) and if Mr *Sympton*, or others among them, will have no *Ruling-Elders*, as not allowing of them, who then shall have the exercise of Government? Thus we see by these particulars in these two instances, how justly they may or doe hold forth that true and just Apologie unto the world, that in the matters of greatest moment and controversie, they still choose to practise safety, and so as they had reason to judge that all sorts, or the most of all the Churches did acknowledge warrantable, although they make (say they) additaments thereunto.

Next, whereas they should have shewed us where the most Reformed Churches give such power as they assume to themselves, and to particular Congregations, in stead of these Churches they give us three *Non-conformists*; and as though their very names would strike all dead, they usher them in with a (yea;) yea and (say they) our owne Mr *Cartwrights*, holy *Baines*, and other old *Non-conformists*, place the power of Excommunication (*this is more then the practice or exercise of Excommunication*) in the Eldership of each particular Church, with the consent of the Church, untill they doe miscarry, and then indeed they subject them to Presbyteries, and Provinciaall Assemblies, as the proper refuge for Appeals, and compounding differences among Churches; which combination of Churches (say they) others of them (meaning *Parker*) call *Ecclesia orta*, but particular Congregations *Ecclesia prima*, as wherein firstly the power and privilege of a Church is to be exercised; thus far they. Here they would perswade us, that these Authors place a full power of Discipline in the particular Congregation, untill they miscarry, a Presbyterie or Synod not having power to meddle with them,

but in the case of grosse miscarrying. For *Baines*, I have him not by me, but I remember when I read him I found him fully for Presbyteriall Government; but sure I am the other two are made to speak what they never meant: for *Cartwright* in his first Reply to *Whitgift* pag. 187. telleth us, that not onely if the Elders shall determine any thing contrary to the Word of God, (which is our brethrens case of miscarrying her-) but also in harder and difficulter causes (which I hope may be before the particular Church may miscarry in them, and not onely for remedie of the vices and incommodities which the Churches be in, but also are in danger to be in, ~~and consequently in danger to miscarry in~~) things were carried to the Synods, Provinciall, Nationall, or Generall, where he mentioneth this practice as a thing he so far allowed, as he telleth us we ought to have our recourse to such remedies, and that for that end these meetings ought to be as often as conveniently may be. As for *Parker*, he indeed calleth particular Congregations *Ecclesias primas*, and Synods *Ecclesias ortas*, but not as they affirme; because the power and priviledge of a Church is firstly to be exercised in these Congregations: for we shall presently see, that he thinkes that in many cases it should not be firstly exercised by them, (or rather indeed he calleth them so, not in respect of, or relation to, either the power, or the exercise of that power first or last, but in respect of the originall of their being and nature, the *prima Ecclesia* being before the *orta*, and these having their rise from a combination of the *prima*, as we may see in his definition of both, *de Polit. Eccles. l. 3. cap. 13.* at the very beginning of that Chapter) and so he cannot call them so for their (therefore;) that is, because the power must be in the particular Congregations, till they miscarry, and then onely the parties aggrieved might appeale to Presbyteries and Synods: for he will have things referred to a Synod, first, in all common matters, allowing a particular Congregation power onely in her owne proper matters, that is not a case of miscarrying. Secondly, if proper matters cannot be decided in the particular Congregation, he referres them to the Presbyterie, here is yet no case of miscarrying. Thirdly, when commeth in their case, that is in case of ill administration.

And

And fourthly, he giveth liberty of appeale from a particular Congregation to a Presbytery or Synod, even when they have well administred, and so not miscarried; and that, as he proveth, by the University of Paris, and Whitaker; because Appcales are *juris divini & naturalis*, which I desire our brethren to take notice of: See Parker de Polit. Eccles. l. 3. cap. 20. Sect. 2. And in the same third Book cap. 23. sect. 3. we shall see him allow the forme of Geneva, where the lesser and more insufficient Congregations may not excommunicate, nor exercise Discipline, without having recourse to the rest of the Churches, as a practice founded on the communion of Churches, and having its rise from the prudence of the Spirit; yea, and he thinks this a thing not unworthy the most perfect Churches to practise; *quod ego Ecclesiis vel perfectissimis haud indignum reor*. Thus they have neither any reformed Church, nor these Authiors they so much rely on, to help them, in their independen power within particular Congregations, even till they be challenged to erre grossly. But page 14. they will not have this power called an *Independent power*, abhorring that proud and insolent title? Why? because the very sound thereof (say they) conveys to all mens apprehensions the challenge of an exemption of all Churches from all subjection and dependencie; or rather, a Trumpet of defiance, against whatsoever power, spirituall or civill. Brethren, ye are very angry at this title, and therefore wrong the innocent Word, the sound whereof neither imports nor conveys any apprehension of defiance; for one man may be said not to depend on another, and yet not to defie him, for he may be more then his match; neither doth it convey to mens apprehensions an exemption from all subjection and dependency, and that on whatever power, either spirituall or civill, but simply an exemption from dependance on power, which no rationall man can presently apprehend to be from all kinds of power: but you may, and that justly, be called *Independents*, if there be any sort of power you depend not on, nor are subject to; and I am sure you exempt your selves from a dependence on the power of Presbyteries and Synods: But you will tell us, as you do pag. 14. that you claim not an independent power to be subject or give an account to none others; but onely a full and complete power within your selves, untill you should be chal-

lenged to erre grossely; such as (mark it) Corporations enjoy, who have the power and priviledge to passe sentence for life and death within them selves, and yet are accountable to the State they live in. If hereby you meane, that as these civill Corporations are subject to the civill State in their civill causes, so your Ecclesiasticall Congregations, and for decision of Ecclesiasticall controversies, are subject, and that only, to the civill Magistrate, then as the comparison is too unsuitable, so I hope you will grant that we may call you *Independents*, as you exempt your selves from any Ecclesiasticall subjection to any Ecclesiasticall authority of Presbyteries and Synods: If by that comparison you will illustrate and declare the dependance you are willing to have on, and thereby to give an account to, and be censurable by other Churches, as these Corporations are by the State, as you expresse *page 21.* then if you will but stick to your owne fit comparison, the controversie shall be ended betwixt us: For then, first, as this Corporation, being an intire body within it selfe, is also a part of the greater body of the State composed of that, and all the other Corporations in the State: so a particular Congregation, though it be an intire body, yet is it also a part and member of the greater body of a nationall Church, composed of that and all the other particular Churches in the Nation. Secondly, as this Corporation is accountable to the State, as to a superiour Judicatory, having authority over it, though it be collaterall to every one of the other Corporations, whereof the State is composed: so a particular Congregation, though collaterall to the severall other Congregations, yet must be subject to them combined in one Nationall Church, so as they must have an authoritative power over it. Thirdly, as the superiour Judicatory (as a Parliament) may by its power take any cause immediately before them; so the combined Churches may take a cause out of the hands of a particular Congregation. Fourthly, as there are some cases, as of Treason; and some parties, as Noble-men, which are not to be judged by any particular Corporation, under which the parties live, but by a superiour Judicatorie, and their Peeres; so also there may be some cases and persons in a particular congregation, which may not be judged but by a combination of Churches. Suppose the King were a member of some of these our brethrens
congre-

congregations, he having any of them to be Pastor to the Church of his family, would they think their sole authority sufficient to judge him, especially it being very like they are of *Ambrose* his minde, that Emperours and Kings may be excommunicated? were their sole authority sufficient for such a sentence against such an one, in whom, and wherein the whole State and all the Churches must be so much interested, as the foundations of both might be shaken thereby: *Ambrose* was wiser, who would not undertake to excommunicate *Theodosius* without a Synod. I entreat our brethren seriously to consider, whether common reason doth not shew the same equity and necessity to be of the same proportionall authority of Synods over particular congregations, as there is of that authority in the State over particular corporations in these particulars, in the acknowledgment whereof if they would join with us, we should not quarrell with them concerning that state of the Question, which they frame page 14. alledging, we affirme that it should be the institution of Christ, or his Apostles that the combination of the Elders of many Churches should be the first intire and complete seat of Church-power over each congregation so combined; or that they could challenge and assume that authority over these Churches, they feed and teach not ordinarily, *by virtue of those forementioned Apostolicall precepts*: for though it be a question agitated among Divines, especially Papists and Episcopall men, the one to uphold the power of the Pope and the Romish Church; the other, to uphold their Cathedrals: yet we shall willingly yeeld them, that the combined Presbytery is not the first intire, full, and complete seat of Church power over each congregation so combined; neither doe any of these derive power to other, but instrumentally, both having their power immediately from Christ, who when he gave power to the one, gave it to the other also, as they cannot but have seen sufficiently cleared by their owne *Ball* in his *Triall of the grounds of Separation*, cap. 12. That which we affirme, is, that as by Christs and his Apostles Institution, every particular congregation is to govern it selfe Aristocratically by its Governours and Rulers; so these congregations, by the same institution, and the Law of nature, and common reason, ought to be so combined as to governe themselves authoritatively by their Rulers

Rulers and Elders, deputed, and so farther and immediately authorized to that end by their severall congregations; neither do we ascribe to them, or doe they assume that authority over those Churches, they feed and teach not ordinarily, by virtue of those Apostolicall precepts, which our brethren mention *page 14* either onely, directly, or principally, as they here suppose; as we shall presently see in the examination thereof. After we have first examined our brethrens first argument, urged against the power of Presbyteriall combinations, which they urge *page 13*, where they tell us, the first Churches planted by the Apostles consisted of no more, then might make up one particular congregation in one City at first; and so for the Churches in the *Afts*, by the testimony of Non-conformists: therefore particular congregations (which must be their inference) had their intire and complete being and power within themselves, before, and without derivation of that power from Synods, or before they could be combined in Presbyteries. This last inference they there intimate.

To this we answer, first, that if this argument were reduced in a forme, we should finde *four termini* in it: for whereas the premises onely mention congregations of Cities, the conclusion is general of all other congregations also, and so they conclude also *à particulars ad universale*. Secondly, either they affirme the Apostles gave those first Churches their complete power, without those three restrictions formerly mentioned, or with these restrictions: if the former, then besides the truth of what wee formerly affirmed, of their not tying themselves to these restrictions in their practise, wee see also they mentioned these restrictions onely to make the World beleieve their practice is conformable to that of the reformed Churches; whereas here they tell us, that of the Reformed Churches to be contrarie to Apostolicall institution: If the latter, that is, if the Apostles gave particular Congregations that power so limited, then it must follow, that the Apostles must have allowed of some other seat of power, whereby that limited power might be more enlarged, and accordingly practised: for if the power of particular congregations be, and that by Apostolicall institution, onely in smaller matters, and some cases, must not the Apostles allow another seat

of power in greater matters, and all cases? Thirdly, this argument runneth upon these false suppositions; first, that as soon as particular Churches have a being, they must *ipso facto* have all power: secondly, that no particular Church can by our opinion have a being before a combination of Churches: thirdly, that this combination also by our opinion must be the first seat of Church power, deriving it to particular Congregations. This later we have disclaymed already, and the second we are so farre from owning that contrarily we cannot but know from our own principles of Presbyteriall government, that there must have bin particular congregations formed, and invetted with power, as the matter wherof the Presbytery is to be compounded, & from whose power their Delegates must be authorized, before there could be Presbyteries, thus compounded of and authorized by them (who knoweth not that simples must be before their compounds as there must be particular corporations before there be a Parliament; but that it doth hence follow, either that these Churches thus formed by the Apostles, are not to combine in Presbyteries and Synods afterwards; or that therefore no particular congregations may be formed by the power of Presbyteries and Synods is as absurd, as that particular corporations in a Nation are not to joine in a common State, because there was no such State when the first Corporations were erected; or as, that States or Parliaments may not erect or forme new Corporations in a Common-wealth or Kingdome, but they must forme themselves by their owne power, because there was no common State, or Parliament composed of divers Corporations, at the forming and erecting the first Corporations, but Corporations were before them: Let States, Parliaments, and civill Magistrates here observe, what power the principles of Independency alloweth them above and beyond that, which the principles of Presbyteriall Government will or can allow them. Fourthly, I answer, that though there were no Presbyteries then to give being to, and to forme those first Congregations, yet there was that power which is equivalent to the power of Presbyteries, to wit, Apostolicall power, and wee see these Congregations did not forme or plant themselves, nor were they formed and planted by any one Preacher alone, as theirs are, but by the Apostles: this

Apostolicall example is to us morall, grounded upon this perpetuall equity, that Sectaries of any profession might not have liberty at their pleasure to gather themselves into Churches, and this example our brethren knew to have been constantly followed and imitated in the Church after the Apostles times, which by the corruption of times gave accidentally occasion afterwards to the usurped power of Cathedrall Churches, which from hence were called Mother Churches; we give this power to combined Churches, as being both most equitable, that what power in such a case an Apostle used, should not be exercised by any one person or Church, but by many; and also is most suitable to that equality which our brethren and we both justly require in the Church of God.

Their second argument is this, *pag. 15.* whatever power combined Churches assume over particular congregations, must be assumed by vertue of those Apostolicall precepts, which they relate *pag. 14.* but that cannot be, for (say they) we judged that all those precepts, *Obey your Elders, and them that are over you,* were (to be sure and all grant it) meant of the Pastors and Teachers *ordinarily feeding and teaching their people,* and other Elders that were set over them in each particular congregation respectively, and to be as certainly the intendment of the holy Ghost, as in these like commands, *Wives obey your owne husbands, servants your owne Governours,* to be meant of their severall families respectively; where they insinuate, that by vertue of these precepts, Pastors and Elders are only to rule their owne particular congregations, and these only obey their owne Rulers thus set over them, even as husbands are only to rule their *owne* wives, and masters their *owne* servants, and wives and servants to obey none but their owne husbands and masters.

To this argument we answer: First, that it is false, that all the authority which combined Churches assume or may assume, over particular congregations must only be by vertue of these Apostolicall precepts. We confesse, if there were no other grounds for Presbyteriall Government then these precepts, that these alone would not enforce it; they might therefore have done well to have proved this, that there can be no other grounds for that authority, but from these precepts; whereas contrarily wee
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know the Apostles had authority over particular congregations, and by vertue of that authority enjoined them these precepts; and therefore their authority over them could not be derived from these precepts: and if there may be other grounds for Apostolicall authority, why not also for Presbyteriall?

Secondly, if all authority of Pastors or Rulers over particular congregations must be drawn from these precepts, then either there must be no authority (especially since Apostolicall power is at an end) over Pastors, Teachers, and Elders themselves, or then wee must have it from these precepts: and so first, the meaning of *Obey your Elders, &c.* should be, Elders obey yourselves. Secondly, whereas they subject the Officers and Elders unto the people, the precepts must be inverted thus, Elders and Governours obey them that are under you, and your owne servants, husbands obey your owne wives. I hope these absurdities may let our brethren see, that as there is a necessity of Presbyteriall Government, so that it is not firstly or only to be derived from these precepts, but farre more pertinently from that precept *Mat. 18. Tell the Church*; on which words, their owne *Parker de Polit. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 20. pag. 318.* hath this glosse. For (saith he) since Christ will have every one judged by his owne Church, *Mat. 18.* or if the judgement of his own Church displease him, yet ever (mark it) by the Church, that is, (saith he) by a Synod of many Churches. Secondly, from that precept *Acts 15. 28. 29.* and *16. 4.* the same Authour telling us *de Polit. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 23. pag. 346.* that here the Church of God hath ever held Synods to be instituted to last for ever in the Church, and from that precept *1 Cor. 14. 29, 32.* where we have a constant rule drawn from the law of nature and common equity, that a Prophet be judged by Prophets, a Preacher by Preachers, and not by the people, as their practice is. Having then these with many more cleare patents for Presbyteriall Government, we answer in the second place, that this supposed even these Apostolicall precepts, *Obey your Elders, and them that are over you*, though they be immediately understood of these Governours of a particular congregation, who ordinarily feed and teach them, yet they include that equity which will furnish an argument and precept both, of obeying all other Governours

over us. Besides these (supposing I say) that these other Governours have first another ground of their authority over us, even as *Honour thy father and thy mother*, could not be extended to other Superiours besides fathers and mothers if there were no other grounds nor precepts for other superiorities, but that precept; but supposing other Superiours have their authority warranted from other grounds then this precept, enjoyned us by the unanimous consent of Divines, to honour them as well as father and mother, to whom it is immediately directed.

Thirdly, this supposition of theirs is false also, that these precepts *Obey your Elders*, and them that are over you are exclusive, as being so to be understood, as enjoying them to obey them only, and none besides them; even as a command enjoyning the members of a particular Corporation to obey those who are over them in that Corporation, doth not exclude obedience, or command disobedience in them to the King or Parliament: (I know not what they may give to civill Magistrates more then we, but sure I am, civill Magistrates had need to look to the consequence of such arguments) neither can the like precepts of wives obedience to their own husbands, &c. enforce this; for though that precept enjoyn them to obey them, and them alone as their husbands; yet not simply to obey them alone, so as to obey none but them: (but because it is usuall with those of their mould to stick too close to that comparison, and think the relation of a Pastor to his people to be of the like nature with that between man and wife: I wish all such to be wary in this, and consider, first, that we are but Stewards in Christs family, Christ himself being the only husband to the Church; and so secondly, one congregation may have divers Pastors, as a family may have divers stewards, whereas a wife can have but one husband:) for suppose the relation were the same between the Pastor and people, as between man and wife; yet many, yea all acts which a husband doth to his wife as his wife (that one excepted whereby they become one body) he may doe to others also, though not as to his wife: a husband doth ordinarily teach his wife, entertaine and feed her, provide for her and all as his own wife, yet he may doe all this to others also, though not as to his wife. A Governour of a particular corporation governs them of that corporation

ration ordinarily as his ordinary charge ; may he not therefore be delegate by that corporation to be a member of Parliament, and so governe the whole Kingdom. If what ever a man doth, as a Pastor to his owne flock, may not be done by him to any besides them ; then how come our brethren to celebrate the Communion to members of other Churches, to baptize their children in the congregations of *England*, to preach and pray to other congregations upon occasion : if preach, pray, administer Sacraments to their own congregations be not so to be understood, as that this is to be done to them alone, then why must, *governe your owne congregations*, be so understood as to govern none else, especially since I think they will not affirme communion in government to be equivalent to adultery, more then communion in the Sacraments, though indeed there be no act in a Pastor to any others besides his own people equivalent to adultery, their relation between him and his people not being such as is between man and wife. Here we would know of our brethren, what they conceive to be the ground of all visible communion, between the visible Churches of Christ, is it not their visible union ? Let them then examine this visible union, and see whether it be not such (as it must be) a ground of communion in Government, as well as in Sacraments, and other Ordinances. It hath been found and esteemed such in the judgement of all Divines and Churches unanimously hitherto, and the sole foundation of Synods of all sorts, which is the cause there hath been so little written of this subject ; because it was held as a principle not to be controverted, which is an argument for our brethren, rather to be convinced by, then to make use of for their advantage.

Fourthly, if these precepts must be understood exclusively, and so as Governours of Churches are to governe none but their own particular congregations, or the people to obey none but their own Rulers, then all Church-government shall be confined within the bounds of a particular congregation ; and so first exclude the Apostles themselves, 1. from having any power to governe other congregations whom they feed not, nor teach not ordinarily ; nay the Apostle must here exclude himselfe, and enjoyre this precept without any power so to doe : for if the meaning of, *Obey your owne Rulers*, be, obey them alone, then

the Apoſtle had as much as in direct termes ſaid. Obey not me nor any Apoſtle. 2. Then the Apoſtles ſhould alſo have beene excluded from being ſubject to government, ſince I think our brethren will not ſay they were to be governed, or cenſured as members of a particular congregation, by the particular Rulers of any one ſuch congregation.

In this diſcourſe we are not ſo to be underſtood, as though we taught, that any Paſtor of one congregation might as freely, and by the ſame paſtorall power, goe and governe another congregation as he may preach and adminiſter the Sacraments therein being deſired; and therefore it is to be noted, that when ever we ſpeak of any power the Paſtor of one congregation hath to governe another, and the obligation that the members thereof have to obey him, it is meant of his joynt power as a member of a Presbytery or Synod; we grant then, that the ſame power which may warrant a man to preach and adminiſter the Sacraments in another congregation, doth not warrant him to govern there alſo, but to that end, he muſt have ſome authority ſuper-added to his former power, and that in relation to them whom he is thus to governe; and ſo may in ſome ſenſe be called their Governour, though not as he is their Paſtor, ordinarily to feed and teach them: for men do not governe in Synods by vertue of their ordinary paſtorall authority, but only in ſo far as that authority may be and is by Divines called *Fundamentum remotum* of that government; but by vertue of that power and authority where-with they are inveſted by commiſſion and delegation from their reſpective congregations, and by vertue of this delegation it is, that the reſpective congregations are obliged to obey the decrees of the Synod, as *Parker* obſerveth *de Polit. Eccl. l. 3. c. 26. p. 370.* whence it appeareth, that as no particular Congregation is obliged to obey a Synod, but ſuch as hath its Delegates there; ſo alſo, that our Synodall and Presbyteriall Government differs *totò caelo* from Hierarchicall Government, where one Cathedrall Church, or rather one Biſhop, domineers it over the reſt; whereas ours is nothing elſe but a fraternall and collaterall combination of the power of many Churches in their Delegates, repreſenting their ſeverall Congregations, whereby they mutually governe themſelves, as the Elders of a particular Congregation

doe that Congregation. Hence the same *Parker de Polit. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 23. pag. 350.* telleth us, that the subjection of a particular Congregation to a Presbyterie, is no Hierarchicall subjection; nay, no subjection at all, unlesse (saith he) one may be said to be subject to himselfe; neither (saith he) is there any subjection where all are equall.

That all this may be the clearer, and that stumbling-block whereon many stumble (wondring how a man may personne a Pastorall act, as administer the Sacrament to another Congregation whereof he is no Pastor) may be removed, we are to consider, 1. that in a Pastor there is, first, his order or degree, as a Physician hath his degree of a Doctor. Secondly, there is his relation to his People in the discharge of that office. 2. To doe a Pastorall act may be understood two wayes; first, so as to doe any thing by virtue of that order or degree, as a Physician administers Physick by virtue of that authoritie he hath as a Graduate Doctor: and in this respect a Pastor may administer Sacraments to others then his owne People, yea though for the time he have no Flock, being ordained a Preacher, and not suspended or deposed. Secondly, to doe a Pastorall act may be understood so, as to doe any thing by virtue of that Relation, wherein we are ingaged to any People as a Pastor: and in this respect a Pastor is onely to preach, administer Sacraments and exercise discipline, to his owne People. Thirdly, there may be a twofold jurisdiction in a Pastor; the first, Pastorall properly so called, by ordination: the second, delegatorie by deputation: by the former, a Pastor is onely to governe his owne People; the second may be extended to others also, even as a Governour of a Corporation is to governe that Corporation onely, by virtue of that his relation thereunto; but as he may be delegated by that corporation to be a member of the Parliament, he hath a jurisdiction which is to be extended through the whole Kingdom.

After they thought they had by these objections sufficiently shaken the foundation of our Presbyteriall Government, and fenced their own; in the next place, in stead of many objections, they might have mentioned against their opinion and practise, and having as much reason to mention them as this, they pick out one sa a matter of common prejudice against them,
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and that is, that in their way, there is no sufficient, nor allowed remedy for miscarriages, wrongfull sentences, Heresie, schism, &c.

Here, first, I observe our Bretherns policie, in telling the world, this Apologie only containeth a naked Relation of their wayes, without a Scholasticall declaration thereof, as if there were no arguments to bee found in it; that the world may believe they have yet reserved their strong weapons; whereas wee here see both an offensive and a defensive warre, and are assaulted with such shafts, as they have hitherto, for ought I have ever observed, esteemed the best in their quiver; and here we see they chooſe this objection, as the maine and common matter of prejudice against them to answer too. But to the particular, this (say they) is a matter of common prejudice against them; We Answer, they might have found it as common if not a more common prejudice against them, that there is in their way, no sufficient meanes to prevent all these evils; if they may at their pleasure form Churches, call and ordaine Pastors of what stamp they think fit, *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes*, they know the old rule, *principiis obsta sero medicina paratur cum convaluere morbi*, preventions then are better then remedies: but how shall these be used in their way? other Churches may be and are many times ignorant of their actions, till they be done, as wee saw in that act of deposing their Pastor; how then can these be prevented? they have good reason not to frame any objection of this nature against themselves, for it can hardly be answered by these who challenge an exemption from all kinde, even of consultative Dependence on any, till they be challenged to erre grossly, which sheweth us that that which they affirme to the contrary pag 16. That matters of concernment, are not to bee attempted without consulting with sister Churches may passe *pro forma*, the former being their maine tenet as themselves have stated the Controversie between them and us, this being but at most a publike profession of those others, who were offended at that act; but suppose this were a solemn statute among them; yet we see they did attempt a matter of that concernment without consulting with others; whereas if they had been under our Government, this could not have been. It is hard for

a mixt Multitude to keep within bounds, when they have the reines of Government in their own hands, and have no bound to restrain them, but that inward bond of conscience; we have found by experience among them, that even when conscience urgeth a thing should bee done, yet corruption will keep it back, unlesse an outward authority put in withall: For conscience hath been long urging, the taking away of that scandall occasioned at *Rotterdam* by that schism, where divers members left the one Church, and joyned to the other, so disorderly, wherein even the Rulers of the one Church had a deep share; yet as that could not then be prevented; so there had been many meetings, Sermons, and all meanes used to presse the conscience of taking it off by a re-union of the Churches, and yet the way to doe it could never be found till the Magistrates Authority and command found it. Secondly, small matters may bee as great an occasion of schisme, &c. in such a Government as theirs, as great matters, as many experiences have shewed among those of the Separation.

But how do they answer this Objection? their answer is large, and confirmed by a large Relation of an instance: the summe of the remedy for these evils amounts to this, that if a Church offend any other Church or Churches, the Church or Churches offended shall agitate the matter with the Church offending, and if they will not give satisfaction, then the offended shall pronounce a sentence of *Non-communication* against them, as unworthy of the Name of a Christian Church.

Wee answer, first, this remedy may prove worse then the disease, when the Church or Churches offended shall be both party offended, and judge, to call the offending to an account, and pronounce a sentence against them: doth not reason and experience teach, that when there is none to goe between the Accuser and the Accused, the debate ends rather in more strife then in a making up the former breach? Secondly, this is a way of very dangerous consequence: for from these grounds, our brethern lay down for this practise, one Church being offended at never so many, may, nay is but bound to call them to an account, and not receiving satisfaction must pronounce a sentence of *Non-communication* against them. Thus one Independent Church may scrape

all the Reformed Presbyteriall Churches in *England*, out of the role of the true Churches of Christ. Brethren this is no good plea for liberty. Thirdly, how will our Brethren make it good that the Law of the Communion of Churches, and for the vindication of the glory of Christ, the Church offending is bound to submit themselves to the Churches offended, as they affirme, pag. 17. doth either Gods Law, or mans Law binde any to submit themselves to their party and Accusers? doth not Christs Law teach us the cleane contrary, that if the offended brother cannot gaine the offending, he shall not presently judge him himselfe, but first take two or three with him, and yet if he will not heare them; he nor they are to passe sentence, nor is he to submit himselfe to them, but the Church must Authoritatively decide it: And therefore fourthly, What reason can our Brethren shew in equity, why controversie between Church and Church may not, yea, must not be decided by Authority, as well as those between man and man. Is there not as great, yea more necessity of an Authoritative decision in the one as in the other, and therefore is not this to tax Christ, either of negligence or want of wisdom and power to have provided, as well for whole Churches, as members of Churches. Fifthly, what ground have they to pronounce a sentence of *Non-communication* against whole Churches upon every offence, wherein they receive no satisfaction, this savoureth somewhat more of Prelaticall usurpation of one Collaterall Church over another, then Presbyteriall Government doth. Sixthly, since our Brethren call this sentence no Excommunication. by what rule can they break off totall Communion from Churches not Excommunicated. Their rule they give us pag. 17. to be the Law of not partaking with other mens sinnes: But here first, doth not their admonition sufficiently free them of this participation without withdrawing from them. Secondly, these are the men who in their search of truth, were forewarned by the fatall miscarriages, and shipwracks of the separation, to avoid these rocks and shelves they runne upon, and who made such an inquiry into their principles, the causes of their divisions, pag. 5. and will by no means owne that odious name of *Brownisme*. Now I pray you is not this miserable principle (that to communicate with wicked men or
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such as uphold any sinfull course, even in the good and Lawfull ordinances of God, doth pollute us, and make us partakers of their sinnes) the maine rock whereon they have made shipwreck in their Separation from the Church of *England*.

This remedy they confirme to be effectually by an instance of an Assembly of two Churches in a case of offence here, first. pag. 20. they call this a solemn Assembly, the solemnity whereof left a deep impression in their hearts of Christs dreadfull presence. Whereas this Assembly consisted only of the Church offending, and foure Members of the Church offended? what an impression then might the solemnity of such grave Assemblies of other Churches leave in their hearts, if they were as well acquainted with their number, gravity, learning, and pious proceedings.

Secondly, in that same page, they tell us they were desired to yeeld a full and publick hearing before all the Churches of their Nation, or any other whomsoever, which (say they) they submitted unto: and pag. 21. they tell us it was openly before all Commers of all sorts, whereas it was in a private upper chamber before none but the parties interessed for ought I can learn, and where no others could in civility come.

But what concerneth the efficacy of this instance, I answer, first, that the remedy was not so full as the disease; for though the Pastor was restored, yet the rent and division, which was occasioned by that businesse was not taken away, but those members who disorderly left the Church, and joyned to another, continued so untill of late that the two Churches united. Secondly, suppose the plaister had been as large as the sore; yet all the plea they can draw from thence, for all the flourish they make of it, is as though a man would urge that all Authoritative Judicatories were both needlesse and unlawfull because one difference between two parties was taken away by themselves.

Another pretty argument they have to prove the efficacy of this their way, and that comparatively; wee have it pag. 19. from a supposition, which they make: suppose (say they) that other principle of an Authoritative power, in combining Churches to Excommunicate other Churches to be the ordinance of God, yet (say they) unlesse it doe take upon mens consciences, the of-

sending Churches will slight it, as much as that other way. On the other side (say they) let this way of ours, bee but as strongly entertained as that which is the way of Christ, &c. And it will awe mens consciences as much, &c. To which I shall give no other answer, but that this is a way of arguing, which is sure to carry the cause, for if they may suppose that though our way be the command of Christ, yet will not take with mens consciences, and that theirs is the way of Christ, and will bee entertained as such, they may suppose also the conclusion will be on their side.

Finding nothing more much material to take notice of in this Apologie, I shall close with a note on our Brethrens closure in a desire of liberty; this liberty they call pag. 25. that peaceable practise of their consciences, where they put the word (consci-ences) in an other character, as intimating that word to bee causall, and so by this rule there must be liberty of consciences, here all may see what that reformation is, which they profess to have such respect unto; but (say they) they are but lesser differences, wherein they differ from us. Brethren government we know is in the Church a wall to preserve her in Doctrine; and therefore a small breach there even by small differences, may make way for greater, even in Doctrine; Wherefore I beseech you and all others seriously to consider what you affirm pag. 24. that you found the spirits of those in *England*, that profess or pretend to the power of Godliness (they finding themselves to be so much at liberty and new come out of bondage) ready to take any impressions and to be cast into any mould, that hath but the appearance of a stricter way; and then judge your selves what must needs bee the issue, if such a people were left to that farther liberty, which you plead for by consent of Authority, and whether this were not a more certaine way to lose Religion in a crowd of Sects, by breaking down this Wall of Government, then to advance that Reformation in *England* which all sincere and pious hearts breathe after, which I beseech God in his own time to establish.

E I N I S.



